

# WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS

TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

*Edited by*

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AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY REYNOLDS

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## PREFACE

THE letters and other papers here printed have been in the continuous possession of Sir John Macpherson's family down to the present day. They consist principally of original letters addressed by Warren Hastings to Macpherson, and have been printed as they stand, except that the contractions have been expanded. Save in the case of those with special heading, the reader may assume that the letters are from Hastings to Macpherson and that the text is that of the autograph original. The principal exceptions comprise a curious letter from Mrs. Hastings (No. XXVIII.) marked by its High German misspellings, which suggest that she must have spoken with a noticeable German accent; one letter from Macpherson himself to Hastings (No. XLIII.); copy of a letter from Hastings to Wheeler (No. LXXXIV.); and a long memorandum on Hastings' position, endorsed 1781, but probably belonging to an earlier year (No. XIII.). The papers are arranged in chronological order, as far as that is ascertainable. But as in many cases the precise date is unknown and the indications from internal evidence uncertain, the arrangement is at times somewhat arbitrary. Where the endorsements add anything to the text, as regards either date or subject-matter, this is indicated either at the head of the letter or in the notes appended to each. I believe only one of these letters has previously appeared in print (No. VIII.). Nor, so far as I know, do copies of them exist elsewhere. Hastings himself does not seem to have kept copies of

what it is clear he regarded as a personal and intimate correspondence, written often by snatches and usually in haste. As regards the other side of the correspondence, the letters from Macpherson to Hastings, the reader will find a certain number of these in the Hastings Papers at the British Museum, especially for the earlier period; where I thought it would serve a useful purpose, I have given the reference or some indication of the contents of the letter that Hastings is answering. I should not close this brief note without acknowledging the repeated obligations under which I lie to Sydney C. Grier's edition of *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, although with some trepidation I have ventured to question the justice of two of her conclusions.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE principal value of the following collection of letters lies partly in the new light which it throws on the events of Warren Hastings' administration, partly in the manner in which it illuminates the character of Hastings himself. While Hastings was Second of Council at Madras just before he was appointed Governor of Fort William, he fell in with John Macpherson, who was then acting as private secretary to Governor Du Pré. Macpherson, who had been born in Skye in 1745, had originally come out to Madras as purser on the *Lord Mansfield*, Indiaman, commanded by his uncle. Arriving in 1768, he found the Nawab of Arcot in a state of great indignation with the Governor and Council of Madras, who had plunged incautiously and unsuccessfully into their first war with Hyder Ali of Mysore. He found means to become acquainted with the discontented Nawab, and seems to have suggested to him the advantages that might be secured by skilful negotiations conducted direct with the ministry of the time, so as to short-circuit the East India Company and its servants. Walajah, as the Nawab was now called, fell in with these ideas with great readiness, and promptly sent Macpherson back to England, with a letter to Lord Chatham, who was supposed still to be in office, and with a document written by the Nawab's Hindu *dubash*, and sealed with the latter's seal, purporting to authorise Macpherson to act in the Nawab's name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harland to Rochford, 1 September, 1772, *ap. India Office, Home Miscellaneous*, No. 110, p. 495.



Armed with these credentials, Macpherson returned to England.

There he found Chatham resigned, Grafton in power, and the East India Company involved in animated disputes with the Government. The mean and hasty manner in which Charles Townshend had compromised the discussion of the Company's rights raised by Chatham, without settling any of the principles at stake and merely securing the annual payment of £400,000 into the Treasury, was very far from having disarmed the critics of the Company. The administration of the Company's servants in India was still regarded with grave suspicion by the public. Then too the ministry had learnt with natural surprise that the Governor and Council of Fort William had suffered the French at Chandernagore to raise troops, mount guns, and build a wall round their settlement, contrary to the Treaty of Paris. 'I cannot conceal from you', wrote Shelburne to the Company, 'His Majesty's surprise that so extraordinary a transaction with a foreign power, by which the articles of a treaty of peace have been dispensed with, should have passed in India by the sole authority of the Company's servants, and have received your approbation at home, without your having previously attempted to know His Majesty's opinion, or receive his commands, upon so hazardous a concession.'<sup>1</sup> The annoyance thus aroused was sharpened by complaints later in the same year, transmitted by the British ambassador to the Porte, of injurious interruptions by the Company with the trade up the Persian Gulf to Basra.<sup>2</sup> Early in the following year the Company injudiciously delivered itself into the

<sup>1</sup> Shelburne to the Company, 21 January, 1768 (Lansdowne House MSS., No. 99.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michell to Wood, 17 March, 1769 (P.R.O., C.O. 77-21).

Government's hands by applying for the assistance of a royal squadron, partly because the appearance of His Majesty's flag in Indian waters was expected to hasten the termination of the Mysore War, partly because the French were reported to have made great preparations at the islands of Maufitius and Bourbon.<sup>1</sup>

Amid these circumstances Macpherson found considerable inclination to listen to the complaints of the Nawab. He was received by Grafton, and afterwards held several interviews with Bradstreet, the Secretary to the Treasury, to whom Grafton seems to have entrusted the superintendence of Indian affairs, just as at a later date John Robinson, who occupied the same post, was employed by North. To Macpherson must probably be ascribed the invention of the pretext adopted by Government for interfering in the Company's affairs in the East, viz. the fact that the Nawab of Arcot was declared an ally of the British Crown by the Treaty of Paris. When it was decided to send out a squadron under an officer with political powers, he also visited the commodore and suggested to him the desirability of a more extensive commission than that originally contemplated.<sup>2</sup> Moreover writings began to appear in the public press signed *Indianus, A Company's Servant, Hindoostanus*, together with *Intelligence from Authority* and the like. At the end of the year 1769 he returned to Madras on the *Morse* Indiaman, having obtained, probably by ministerial influence, an appointment as ■ writer on the Company's Madras establishment.

He found the government in the hands of Josias Du Pré with Warren Hastings as his Second. Their admini-

<sup>1</sup> Chairs to Weymouth, 17 March, 1769 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 18020, f. 14).

<sup>2</sup> A short memorial of services rendered . . . by John Macpherson. *India Office, Home Miscellaneous*, No. 110, p. 503.

stration was sharply distinguished from both that which preceded and that which followed by the certainty of its honesty. But that did not secure them the Nawab's co-operation. This misfortune was largely due to the arrival of the royal squadron with a commodore, Sir John Lindsay, invested with secret and extraordinary powers. For this Macpherson, as we have seen, was in part responsible ; but he was not responsible for the intemperate and foolish use which the commodore proceeded to make of his authority. Lindsay encouraged the Nawab to look to him for support against the Company's government, irrespective of its qualities ; while the Nawab, having thus secured that external support which he had sought, seems to have disavowed the agent whom he had employed. Lindsay's secretary, George Patterson, became for the moment the chief power at the durbar ; and Macpherson was left to claim in vain reimbursement of the money he had expended in Europe on the Nawab's account.

In 1772 Hastings went up to Bengal ; in the next year Du Pré went home ; the commodore was recalled and replaced by another with revised instructions ; and the last presently returned to England, leaving the Nawab once more to fight his battles alone. The new governor, Wynch, was allied with a man who had taken Patterson's place at the durbar. This was Paul Benfield, who had contrived by financial shrewdness to secure control of the Nawab's financial operations. There followed a period of confused intrigue, during which sometimes the Nawab, sometimes his creditors, gained the upper hand. On the whole, the Nawab prevailed. In 1773 he succeeded in getting the council to put him in possession of Tanjore. Benfield promptly obtained assignments on the Tanjore revenues as security for his advances ; but the Nawab insisted on appointing his

second son, Amir-ul-Umara, to the command of the country, which meant that Benfield had less control over the administration there than he desired. After two years' confusion, the Company resolved that its council had done altogether wrong to put the Nawab in possession of Tanjore, ordered its restoration to the old Raja, and appointed Lord Pigot, who had been governor of Madras in the latter part of the Seven Years' War, to carry out these orders. He quickly came into violent collision with the majority of his council. The latter, aided by the commander-in-chief, and inspired by Benfield, who saw in the Company's orders an attack upon the security which he held, seized Pigot and held him in arrest until he died. Meanwhile, in Bengal, Hastings, after a couple of years of free and unimpeded administration, had been shackled by the majority which had been appointed by the Regulating Act. Clavering, Monson, and Francis had attacked every measure which he had taken mainly because he had taken it, and reversed every branch of his policy mainly because it was his.

Amidst these peculiar and troublous circumstances the first six of the following letters were written. Macpherson, who took a warm interest in the development of Hastings' struggle against his opponents, was sanguine of the issue—more so indeed than Hastings himself, who, though never doubting his ability to foil his opponents at Calcutta, suspected that the final outcome of the struggle would be the recall of both sides and the establishment of a new government. But at this time the most important contents of these letters relate not to the disputes of Bengal but to those of Madras. With the disappearance of the commodore's plenipotentiary powers, the Nawab had inclined to Macpherson once more, whose influence was doubtless increased by his known friendship with the Governor-General. It seemed to



Macpherson that the only remedy for the evils rampant at Madras lay in the interference of the Bengal government, and this view he urged repeatedly and strongly upon Hastings. He suggested that an agent should be sent down from Bengal to represent the Supreme Government and that the Nawab should enter into a formal treaty defining his rights and powers. With these views Hastings was in complete agreement. 'It is a matter of astonishment to me', he had written to Sullivan in 1770, 'how the alliance between the Nabob and the Company hath subsisted so many years without one condition on either side and every disadvantage on that of the Company. . . . The whole expense of his regular forces and of his garrisons is borne immediately by them, for which indeed they have credit in his accounts, but every pagoda that he reimburses to them is extorted by arguments bordering almost upon violence, and considered when granted as a gratuitous aid which confers an obligation, while in effect it but partially repays one.'<sup>1</sup> He was therefore strongly desirous to see the Company's relations with the Nawab determined by a formal treaty. He was further on grounds of policy anxious to see the Nawab's power over Tanjore confirmed, since that would leave only one power to deal with in the south instead of two; while as regards the desirability of interfering to bring to an end the confusion which had long reigned in the southern presidency, he felt as strongly as Macpherson. In fact he did his utmost to effect all three changes. Though at the moment no direct treaty was made, Hastings did welcome and employ the opportunity which afforded itself in 1781; and though he did not see how immediately to appoint an agent for the Governor-General and Council without exciting more evils than

<sup>1</sup> Hastings to Laurence Sullivan, 1 February, 1770 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29126).

the appointment would abate, yet this was the course which he ultimately took as soon as he had effected a direct alliance with the Nawab.

Thus far Hastings and Macpherson had been merely in agreement on the ideal policy which at the time could not receive effect. But when in the beginning of 1777 Macpherson, no longer in the Company's service (for he had been dismissed by Pigot) went home once again in order to represent the Nawab's case in England, the relations between the two entered on a new phase. The disputes of Bengal had made Hastings anxious to have trusty representatives at London who could point out to those in authority the more obvious falsehoods that Philip Francis and his associates were endeavouring to propagate. Colonel Macleane, who had gone home early in 1775, had been charged with this and other duties; so had Stewart (see No. II.) who went home at the end of the same year. Macleane had mismanaged his mission, and besides had returned to India, only to die as he was hurrying back to Europe with news of the death of Clavering.<sup>1</sup> Macpherson seems (cf. No. VII.) to have offered to act on Hastings' behalf; and Hastings welcomed the proposal. He was in many ways right. Macpherson had decided talents for negotiation. His smooth and pleasing manners, his conciliatory turn of mind, his aristocratic connections, gave him considerable advantages over the active but inexperienced and injudicious men, such as Macleane or at a later time Scott, whom Hastings could find among the Company's civil or military servants. During his stay in England Macpherson undoubtedly rendered Hastings great services with the Ministry. As soon as he found that Macleane

<sup>1</sup> Macleane to Hastings, 20 September, 1777 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29139, f. 161); and Macpherson to Hastings, 22 April, 1778 (*loc. cit.* 29140, f. 291).



had compromised Hastings by his proffer of resignation, he not only wrote urging Hastings to continue in the Chair, but also set to work preparing men's minds for the news that Hastings had not resigned his office.<sup>1</sup> He got into close touch with John Robinson, Secretary at the Treasury, who really controlled the Ministry's Indian policy. He seized the opportunity afforded by the news of Clavering's death, which removed the Ministry's real motive for seeking to drive Hastings out of office; brought Robinson into touch with Hastings' friends, notably Laurence Sullivan; went into Parliament; and formed a connection with his old enemy at the Arcot durbar, Paul Benfield, whose long purse made him a friend to be welcomed or a foe to be reckoned with. There can be no doubt but that these operations played a considerable part in the transformation of the ministerial policy towards Hastings. The first evidence of Macpherson's success was afforded by his procuring and transmitting to Hastings a copy of a document prepared by the ministry in 1776 'to form the ground of impeachment against you and Mr. Barwell. It was temporarily suppressed in consequence of Maclean's arrangement for you and the proposed resignation'. Were anything revived, it would be issued at once, and Hastings had better by way of precaution set himself to procuring rebutting evidence.<sup>2</sup> Then, after a set-back occasioned in part by Hastings' refusal to replace young Fowke at Benares as he had been ordered by the Company, he allied himself with Bristow and probably engaged to do his utmost to secure for him restoration to the post of

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson to Hastings, 13 April, 1777 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29138, f. 318), and 23 May, 1778 (*Idem*, 29140, f. 424).

<sup>2</sup> Macpherson to Hastings, 16 June, 1778 (*Idem*, 29141 f., 77). Cf. Robinson to the King, 15 September, 1776 (*Idem*, 27833, f. 26).

Resident at Lucknow of which Hastings had deprived him on recovering power. Early in 1780 Sullivan was chosen Deputy Chair with Robinson's approval. The same influence was employed to order the reinstatement of Paul Benfield, who had been removed from the Company's service for the part he had played in the arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot ; and though a group of proprietors endeavoured to oppose this measure, they were able only to postpone its operation.<sup>1</sup> Finally Macpherson was named of Council in Bengal in succession to Barwell, mainly with the idea of supporting the Governor-General, but partly perhaps also with that of inducing him to moderate what his misinformed supporters at home considered as too militant a policy.

It would be pleasant to regard this revolution of sentiment as due to a sincere if belated recognition of Hastings' talents and services. But such a belief would be pathetically false. What weighed with North and Robinson was no admiration of Hastings' achievement, great as it was, no sympathy with his sufferings, unmerited as they had been, no desire of his co-operation in restoring the shattered empire, indispensable as it would seem. What they sought was the steady, undeviating and inexpensive support of Benfield and his connections. In the following year James Macpherson wrote (1 Feb. 1781) to Hastings :

✓ During his residence in this country Mr. Benfield has secured such a great political line in a certain assembly that he cannot fail to acquire the round support of Government in his further views in the East. This political line is formed of men whose principles we approve and on whose conduct we can depend. Mr. Benfield is extremely anxious that I should explain to you his wishes to be united with you in political friendship,

<sup>1</sup> Baber to Hastings, 23 December, 1780 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29146, f. 382).

in which he will make a fair exchange of his force and influence here for your favour and protection in India.'

Thus Macpherson's advocacy had been of great advantage to Hastings. But in one respect the advantage was counterbalanced. Macpherson himself, like Maclean before him, had gone home not merely to represent the Governor-General, but also to represent the Nawab of Arcot. Men at home therefore were likely to associate his interests with those of the Nawab, an association which was not in fact particularly unjust, seeing that he was disposed to support the policy of transferring Tanjore to that prince. But when, in the main owing to William Burke's association with Tanjore, Edmund Burke was led into taking an active part on behalf of the latter, and when, moreover, the alliance between Hastings' friends and Benfield, who stood for the anti-Tanjore faction, was so evident in London, it is clear that the operations which had been so immediately successful also involved the awakening of an opposition that was in the long run to cost Hastings dear, while the friendships which Macpherson secured for the moment proved to be the broken reed whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it. Not indeed that Macpherson must be accused of having overvalued the alliances which he had formed. He repeatedly urges Hastings to look after his private interests. I quote one passage of this tendency in my note on Letter No. VII. Here is one yet more direct: 'I repeat it to you that if you do not take such effectual care of your private affairs as will enable you to have influence in the country, you will regret it the longest day you have to live'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, had Hastings been a man of another stamp, had he instead of lavishing his genius on the consolidation of the Company's dominion

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson to Hastings, 13 February, 1779 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29143, f. 76).

laid up, as he might well have done, a great store of wealth, like Rumbold's or Benfield's, and returned to England armed with gold that would have made him a political power, Burke would have declaimed against him as harmlessly as he did against the others. As Hastings himself bitterly declared, 'There is not virtue in England for the punishment of wealthy villainy'. ✓

At the end of September, or the beginning of October, 1781, Macpherson arrived in Bengal to take his seat in Council. He found the political situation much worse than any one in England had suspected. When he sailed the chief problem had been thought to be the best manner in which the Maratha War could be brought to a conclusion; and many, including, I believe, John Macpherson himself, thought that Hastings was standing too obstinately upon terms. But when he put in at Madras on his way out, he found, to his great consternation, that the Maratha War had been doubled by one with Hyder Ali, who had suddenly invaded the Carnatic in the previous year and whom all the efforts of the Madras Government, of Bengal, and of Coote had been unable to dislodge. At Madras Macpherson found several old friends in high office. One of these was Lord Macartney, who had been appointed Governor of Madras shortly before he himself had been chosen of Council in Bengal. Another was Sir Edward Hughes, in command of the English squadron in Indian waters. A third was Sir Eyre Coote, whom Macpherson in 1778 had seen off from Portsmouth in the vain hope of inducing him to live in harmony with the civil government under which he was to serve.<sup>1</sup> All three told him that Hyder could not be driven out of the Carnatic until peace had been made with the Marathas; and one of them had already ✓

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson to Hastings, 23 May, 1778 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29140, f. 422).



been trying his independent hand at a Maratha negotiation. I do not think that the documents relating to this last matter have ever been published ; but the facts are so curious, and illustrate in a manner so striking the manifold difficulties by which Hastings was beset owing to ■ multiplicity of rival and unco-ordinated powers, as to merit a few words of narrative and comment.

Sir Edward Hughes had inherited from his predecessors Sir John Lindsay and Sir Robert Harland the baneful tradition of interference in the political affairs of India, without concerting their measures with the Company's governments on whom necessarily devolved the chief management of political matters. His return of Intelligence expenses shows among other items 3000 rupees ' Paid to an intelligent Moorman well acquainted at Poonah secretly to carry letters from me to Nana Farnavise . . . and bring me his answer, as well as to endeavour by every means in his power to induce the Marattas to a peace with the English Company on the terms offered them by the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, employed in this service between the 4th of January and the 10th March, 1781, when the man was seized '.<sup>1</sup> On this unfortunate event, Hughes then sent an intelligent Brahman to reside at Poona, whom he paid at the rate of 200 rupees a month.<sup>2</sup> The only result of this matter, which was, I think, kept entirely secret from all the Company's servants, was to convince the commodore that the Marathas did not intend to make peace.<sup>3</sup> But what appearance must these advances have worn in the eyes of the astute minister at Poona ? Could anything

<sup>1</sup> Intelligence Expenses. *India Office, Home Miscellaneous*, No. 167, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Intelligence Expenses, *Idem*, No. 178, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hughes to Hillsborough, 20 March, 1781 (*Idem*, No. 167, p. 107).

have been devised more completely to convince him that the English were in sore need of peace and must soon submit to any terms that he pleased to impose on them? And further, whereas at Calcutta the chief of the English merchants was proposing peace on equal terms, here was a great officer of the King of England making proposals. What wonder that the Marathas at Poona turned a deaf ear to the English propositions, and at a later time could hardly be induced by Sindia himself to ratify the peace which he had made with Hastings?

As if this had not been enough, the four men whom I have mentioned above were so impressed by the danger of the situation and the urgency of the demand for peace conveyed by the latest despatches from England, confirmed doubtless by the personal statements of Macpherson who had just arrived thence, that they arrogated to themselves a power which belonged only to the Governor-General and Council, and addressed a formal letter to the ministers at Poona, declaring that not the Company alone but the King as well had ordered the suspension of hostilities and the conclusion of peace, and pledging the Governor-General and Council to support their pacific views. ✕ This was a step even more extraordinary than that taken by Hughes. All things considered, it was not surprising that a blunt seaman should have thrust his oar into a business of which he had really little information; but that Macartney, a man who had undergone some diplomatic training in Europe, and Macpherson, who had had much experience of Oriental durbars, should have thus weakened the authority of the head of the Company's government in India, at a time when they knew that he was engaged in negotiations for the object which they all had at heart, is a singular

<sup>1</sup> Letter, dated 11 September, 1781, *ap. Madras Military Consultations*, 30 January, 1782, p. 243.



illustration of the way in which men not of the finest temper will forsake the guidance of reason in times of trial. It may be that some of them hoped by their action to increase the favour with which they were regarded in Europe. When Hastings learnt of this precipitate conduct, he replied in a letter which must rank among the noblest that he ever wrote on public affairs. His letter, dated Benares, 1 November, 1781 (No. XXI.), seems to me to display at its best and clearest the supreme quality of his mind. As a statesman, he was above all else a man of unbreakable fortitude and inexhaustible resource. If you want peace, he says, you must make the other side desire it ; concession and entreaty will gain you nothing. It is of course the merest commonplace ; but how many continue to bear it in mind when misfortune follows misfortune ? Instead, they begin to forget their resources and undervalue their power. But Hastings ever rose with new expedients to meet new dangers. He knew not what it was to despair. When the Maratha War seemed lost, he marched an army across India, drove a wedge deep into the confederacy of his opponents, convinced Sindia that peace was better than war with this stubborn foe, and secured through him the means of forcing peace on the reluctant ministry at Poona, thus exposing to attack the western provinces of Mysore, compelling the withdrawal of the Mysorean troops from the Carnatic, and saving alike the presidencies of Bombay and Fort St. George. Indeed the qualities which bore the Company in safety through the crisis of 1779-1780 were incomparably rarer and finer than those which had borne it along the easy path of good fortune to the conquest of Bengal.

✓ In this matter of Maratha policy Macpherson seems to have yielded to the Governor-General. When stated with the persuasive eloquence with which Hastings

usually wrote when deeply moved, that policy appeared plainly beyond criticism.] But there were other matters in which the two failed altogether to see eye to eye. One of these was the employment of Bristow. This latter had, I think, contrived to interest some of Macpherson's new-found English friends on whom he relied for political support. As I have already pointed out, he had urged on Hastings the desirability of carrying into execution the orders which had been sent out by the Company for Bristow's reinstatement at Lucknow. Hastings had long been unwilling to comply with these requests. In a remarkable letter, No. LVII., he details his reasons. The man himself was neither honest nor able enough for the post ; his restoration would make it look as if Hastings had not the control over English policy and so make his proposals suspected by the princes of India ; it would also make it impossible for Hastings to justify his original removal of Bristow in 1776. The first of these was so unanswerable as to preclude further discussion. And yet when Hastings found Middleton failing to carry into effect the policy with which he was entrusted, Bristow's claims were revived ; Hastings, overworked and sick, gave way ; and Bristow was sent back to Oudh—a measure of which Hastings began almost immediately to repent.<sup>1</sup> The whole question of English policy in Oudh from 1774 to Hastings' retirement is one that has never been examined in detail ; consequently any final judgment is at present impossible. But in this case it appears likely that Hastings was yielding to expediency, and doing what his better sense disapproved in order to conciliate that support in England without which he could not carry his larger plans into effect. It was no more than what every politician has found himself under

<sup>1</sup> Hastings to Scott, 7 February, 1783 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29129, f. 48).

the disagreeable necessity of doing. Neither the question of Maratha policy nor that of Bristow's reappointment seems to have involved any breach in the personal friendship which had closely united Hastings and Macpherson.

That was hardly the case with another matter which the latter had brought forward. In a letter written in the middle of 1782 (No. XLIII.) Macpherson had urged the necessity of taking advantage of the newly made Maratha Peace to reduce the expenditure, and impress the home authorities with a sense of their economy. Hastings evidently thought that anything done hastily at the moment was more likely to be a saving in appearance than in reality (No. XLIV.). I am not aware what further passed between the two, if indeed anything actually did. But in Council Macpherson continued to support measures for reducing expense, and opposed proposals which he thought involved unnecessary issues of money. Moreover he talked at table—or so at all events Hastings was informed—of the need of retrenchments, and of partial and extravagant contracts.<sup>1</sup> On this Hastings put the worst interpretation, and suspected Macpherson of intriguing against him in England. It seems to me probable that in this he was mistaken. I do not think that Macpherson was the 'false friend' that Hastings fancied and Sydney Grier describes.<sup>2</sup> I should rather suppose that the two men differed in opinion. Finance was not a strong point with the Governor-General; and he probably wished matters to be left alone until the situation should admit of a real reformation; whereas Macpherson could see various points in which something could at once be done to cut down expense, and, being a much smaller man than

<sup>1</sup> Hastings to Scott, 7 February, 1783 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29129, f. 48).

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 212.

Hastings, he set a definite value on conciliating ministerial opinion.

And yet another question arose to break the harmony that had reigned between the two when they were separated by some thousands of miles. Down to the autumn of 1782 they had been agreed on the policy that should be followed in the Carnatic—compelling the Nawab to contribute as much as possible to the expenses of the war, but scrupulously respecting his rights over the country. Together they supported Coote against the Governor of Fort St. George, Lord Macartney, and urged on the latter the need of leaving the exclusive conduct of the war in the general's hands. But when in the autumn of 1782 arrived the news that North had fallen, and that the whole Bengal council was like to be turned out of office, Macpherson became evidently more and more unwilling to oppose Macartney, who was known to have many friends in the new administration. He ceased to support Hastings in this matter, with the result that when Coote returned to the coast early in the year 1783, he did not carry with him those powers to overrule and supersede the civil government which he desired and which Hastings would have given him. In this affair Macpherson perhaps did not act from high motives. But there is abundant reason to regard Hastings' projected policy as wrong. He was indeed dealing with problems on which he was misled by much false information, and had no chance of judging them for himself.<sup>1</sup>

These two matters, the financial administration and the Carnatic policy, broke the friendship which had subsisted between Hastings and Macpherson. Instead of the 'My dear friend', of the earlier letters, we find the more formal 'My dear Sir'. A mistake about an

<sup>1</sup> See the editor's article 'Hastings and the assignment of the Carnatic', *ap. English Historical Review*, xl. 375, etc.




invitation leads to a careful explanation that the mistake was genuine and undesigned. In letter No. XCI. Hastings alludes to this breach, and justifies his refusal to gloss it over in one of the last minutes which he recorded. But the thing itself was natural and, one would think, inevitable from the first. The two men were very different. Their scale of values differed. The one was a shrewd man of the world, who judged actions by their effects upon the immediate present; the other, one of the greatest men of his age, who thought far more about their ultimate results when he and all his generation would long have passed away. What wonder that their judgments differed, or that the smaller man should have sometimes judged more wisely?

But while their friendship continued, how human and attractive a man does Hastings show himself in these familiar letters! He has been known too long merely as the author of documents that bear all the marks of his astonishing intellect, but which betray little of the human feelings and emotions that lay behind. Gleig, beyond doubt the dullest biographer that ever attempted to deal with so great a career, saw to it that nothing small and familiar was allowed to creep within his heavy pages. The impression that emerges from them is that of a man intellectually gifted beyond words, but insufferably inhuman. Sydney Grier did much to modify the picture by reproducing the letters which he wrote to his wife. They show indeed a very different man. But then it would not have been surprising if a man so extraordinary had condensed all his lighter feelings into one great passion, or had condescended to human frivolity for the sake of one dearly beloved woman. But these letters to his friend and colleague are liable to no such limitations. They show us the man as he was to work beside, and eat with. They reveal the Governor-General in undress,



with coat and wig laid aside. Take for instance the letter in which he translates into physical attributes the moral character which his enemies ascribed to his famous banyan, Kantu Babu, 'as he ought to be from the superior weight of evidence', and describes a creature the exact opposite of what Kantu was in real life. See him sending Macpherson a horse, 'meek as a lamb and as big as a small elephant', such as would carry Macpherson's weight, and lamenting that people won't give him real horses but only pampered garrons that he can't ride himself nor decently give to other people. Watch him in his recovery from his illness of 1782 eating bark like a stag, or later on writing a note on his dining table as the joint was brought in. These trifling touches seem to me peculiarly precious, worth pages of his letters to Sullivan or Scott which merely reproduce in shortened form the minutes which he recorded in the official consultations. Finally, consider how earnest yet how conscientious he was in regard to the interests of his special protégés. Read the letters, several written hurriedly as he dropped down the river for the last time, with their constant refrain, 'Pray, be kind to him'. He had not provided them with fat posts, and indeed had been almost as careless of their material interests as he had been of his own.

As a colleague, he must have been difficult, for he expected to find in others his own far-sighted resolution. 'When your resolution is once formed', he writes (No. LXXIII.), 'and in execution, never admit even a thought of withdrawing it; but persist in it even though in itself it should be wrong, if not ruinously wrong'. He quickly grew impatient with men who changed their minds with the variations of fortune or who would give up great objects for immediate ease. Had fortune been kind to him, she would have given him those supreme powers



which were later given to Cornwallis. With power to command, free from the constant trammels of conciliating the prejudices and humouring the weaknesses of others, his genius would have had that scope which always was denied to it, and he himself would have been delivered from the fatal necessity of steering a course against the fitful gusts of political intrigue.

WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS  
TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON



# WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

## I

*Fort William*

*12 July 1775.*

Dear Sir :

Your letters have afforded me more Pleasure than Conviction. How much soever I feel my own Inclination and my Pride gratified by the Warmth and Enthusiasm with which you prophecy my future Success, I see too many Chances against me to allow me to entertain the same sanguine Hopes of it. I have little Doubt of foiling my Adversaries : Indeed they have lately spared me the trouble of promoting their Defeat by the Measures which they themselves have adopted to effect it ; but I do not think it follows as a necessary Consequence that I must come off triumphant because they are worsted. I think it full as likely that a total Revolution may take Place, that three will be displaced from Principles of Justice, and that I may be removed to avoid a colour of partiality in my favor.

Mr Hammond, an officer, whom I have sometime since recommended to General Smith, I understand has received both civility and kindness from him, for which I am extremely obliged to the General, as it is my warmest wish to promote the interest of Mr Hammond ; to effect which I also request your hearty Assistance. He is very desirous of getting employment in the service of Ameer ul Omrah the Nabo's [*sic*] second son. Get this done for him if possible, or something better.

It is not in my power to write long letters to you, but



I will take care that you are from time to time furnished with memorandums of our troubles.

I am

Dear Sir

Your very affectionate friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

Say kind things for me to your friend Jean Jacques as you call him. No man wishes him better than I do.

[Cover endorsed in Macpherson's hand, 'About the opposition to him. Say kind things for [him] to Jean Jacques—viz the N[abob].']

This letter replies to one from Macpherson at Madras, dated 10 May, 1775 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29136, f. 186), congratulating Hastings on the advantage promised by the conspiracy charge against Fowke and Nandakumar. 'My dear Sir,' Macpherson writes, 'I thank God Almighty for the news of to-day. . . . *Proditor* Fowke and the child of the Triumvirate, Nuncomar, in the power of the Chief Justice for the subornation of witnesses against you ; and Clavering (I write him at full length) offering to bail villainy !—decisive !—complete !—sufficient !—and victorious !' Then while this charge was still depending over Nandakumar came the forgery charge, for which, when Hastings wrote, he was actually lying under sentence of death.

The 'Mr. Hammond' whom Hastings recommends first to General Joseph Smith, and then to Macpherson's good offices, succeeded in his application, for his name appears in lists of Europeans in the Nawab's service dated 25 March, 1775, and 6 March 1778, in the latter with rank as ensign.

## II

*Fort William*

29 December 1775.

Dear Sir,

Mr Stewart will answer in person all your Letters, for he is Master of all my Sentiments and of the State of this torpid Government. I was hurt by one

Circumstance which I met with in your Letter which you denied me to shew to the Chief Justice. (By the by, he has seen them all.) You will know what I allude to. I am delighted with your last. Though I have no Hopes of Honors, nor in any other Situation of Life would form the slightest Wish for them, I am glad that even the Idea of them is suggested. I am pleased with the Committee of Circuit, as I was with the Order that the Regulations of our Board of Inspection should be received as Orders of the Court of Directors. It speaks more than their Approbation. A dead Calm has prevailed here for some time past, but though it affords me more Ease & Tranquillity than I have for some time enjoyed, I gain little by it, but the privilege of pushing on the Current Business, which even yet but visibly moves.

But I refer you to Stewart. He will tell you all, and you will find him a most admirable Budget, and very sober and temperate on every Subject but that of Secretary and Judge Advocate General, and the Law. I have given him a Letter to the Nabob. It is a mere Form of Introduction. I would wish him to deliver it with the Knowledge of the Governor, but on this you will advise him. I would not have him in Addition to the other horrid Crimes with which he is loaded, carry home that of a Traitor on his Head, as our Friend Colonel McLeane did. But you will let the Nabob know that Mr Stewart is my Friend, and my confidential Friend. I am afflicted by the news which I hear concerning the Disposition of Tanjour. It will be a severe stroke to the Nabob. Stewart will let you know the Line of Conduct which I have observed towards him. Adieu. Your truly affectionate and faithful Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

In the six months that followed the former letter, Hastings and his opponents were still awaiting judgment from home

upon their respective conduct. Clavering and his followers no longer sought evidence against Hastings at the Council Board, though they were secretly consulting men, such as Muhammad Riza Khan, whom they might expect to find hostile witnesses against the Governor-General, and continuing their proscription of the Governor-General's friends. In the present case the object of their attack was the Secretary, John Stuart, son of Lord Bute. He had been sent out in 1772 to succeed to the first vacancy of the Secretary's office (Gleig, *Hastings*, i. 176-177). He had combined the offices of Secretary and Judge-Advocate General, and had been deprived of both. He was therefore going home not a little indignant with his treatment, and prepared to use all the influence he could exert in favour of Hastings and against his enemies. He was therefore joined with Colonel Maclean, who had gone home early in 1775, as one of Hastings' principal agents in England.

While at Madras, on his way home, he stayed with Macpherson at the latter's garden-house on the Choultry Plain. A new governor, Lord Pigot, had arrived in the previous month; and as he had not countenanced Macpherson's position at the Nawab's durbar, Macpherson does not seem to have consulted him, as Hastings desired, about the letter sent by Stuart. Instead, we read of his taking Stuart to the durbar at midnight (Palk MSS. p. 263); and immediately afterwards Macpherson himself was dismissed from the Company's service by the Madras Council.

✓ | The new governor, Pigot, brought with him orders to reinstate the Raja of Tanjore, who had in 1773 been dispossessed by the Madras Council in favour of the Nawab.

## III

[27 May 1776.]

[The opening sheets of this letter are wanting.]

. . . Support from home. Yet Preparations are made for both, and may lead to something effectual, if but a portion of the Spirit should revive which some Time past extended itself to Fort St George and Bombay, and a Series of the same Indiscretions should call for the future Exertion of it. Your Hints to P. and your Hopes of M. are equally

incapable of useful Application and possible Success. I must also caution you against too implicit a Confidence in the former. He is not my Friend, nor can I trust him.

I have written a Letter to the Nabob which will accompany this. I hope he knows and makes Allowances for my situation and does not expect regular Replies from me to all his Letters. This Difficulty of mine you can explain to him.

I am not competent (as I told you before) to judge whether your Presence would be most necessary where you are, or in England, but I am pleased to find that there is a probability of your staying, because I am sure the Nabob requires a Comforter as well as an Adviser. You are properly qualified to administer Relief to him in both Characters, and I do not know another. D. is sensible, but he wants the Art of Persuasion and Conciliation.

I have read your Remonstrance, and like it ; yet I do not think it so neat nor so masterly as your former Address to the Court of Directors. Perhaps a second reading will give me a different Judgement of it. More I think might have been said upon the 1st Question of the Justice of the late orders. The 2nd is complete, and so is the Conclusion. Both are excellent. [*Added afterwards* : I did not discover till a second Reading that I mistook the Writer of the Remonstrance, and am better pleased with it as I better understand what I before could not apply to the person or place I thought it written from. I admire whence M L. procured so much Knowledge of a Subject so new to him.]

You are indebted for the Length of this to a Meeting of the Quarter Sessions without Business.

I had almost concluded without telling you, and it is proper that you should know it, that however my Adversaries may have pledged themselves to give up the



Battle, if it is not completely decisive for them, I have pledged myself to stay till it is Decisive, and have declared that whatever I might suffer from so painful and humiliating ■ Situation, I thought it my Duty to wait for the final Decision on this Contest, and if I lived, I would see the End of it'. I have made the same Declaration in my private Letters to England, and I am determined that I will not receive my Recall by Implication, but *if I live, I will See the End of it.* I thank God my Constitution and Spirits have never yet failed me, and I do not apprehend they will. I am most truly and affectionately

Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S. Some Time ago my Servants in clearing out a Godown discovered a Couch and a Dozen Chairs of Ivory inlaid with black Varnish, and made in a very elegant Taste. They were in their original Packages, but how, when, or whence they came there I have not the least Glimpse of Knowledge. I shall be obliged to you if you will endeavor to learn whether the Nabob ever sent me such a Commission, for I am certain they are not my property.

I have read over the Remonstrance again, and having no longer the Misapplication of person and place to embarrass me, am very much pleased with it. Much you will add to the Argument from nearer Information, and even my Letters may help the Cause. I am not without some Hope of being able to join in some intermediate Relief.

Yrs

W. H.

[Endorsed : 'Very confidential, on the Nabob's affairs'.]

The initials occurring in the first paragraph of this fragment are perplexing. 'P' I should have expected to



stand for Pigot, especially as in an earlier letter Macpherson had announced his hopes of mediating between him and the Nawab ; the difficulty is that Macpherson, having just been dismissed, was not at all likely to place any undue confidence in that irascible person. Perhaps it may stand for Paul Benfield, who, being the unacknowledged leader of the opposition to Pigot, must already have been brought into contact with Macpherson, though the latter had belonged to the rival faction. ' M ', I expect, is Colonel Monson, who had visited the Nawab in 1774 and affected to be his friend.

The possibility of interfering in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay was peculiarly difficult owing to the limited and very ineffectual powers bestowed on the Supreme Government by the Regulating Act. Macpherson had been insisting on the need of interference, and had suggested that Colonel Dow should be sent to Madras as agent for the Governor-General and Council. He is almost certainly the ' D ' of the third paragraph.

The ' Remonstrance ', etc., were papers addressed to the Court of Directors defending the Nawab's claims on Tanjore and urging the abandonment of the decision to reinstate the Raja. One was a document prepared by Macpherson and sent home in the name of the Nawab. The Remonstrance, which Hastings had supposed also to have been written by Macpherson, was written by Maclean (M L.) who was acting on the Nawab's behalf in London as well as for Hastings, and in fact not doing too well for either.

## IV

[July 1776.]

[The first part of this letter is wanting.]

. . . which pleases me more than any Thing I have yet done, I mean a plan sent by the last Dispatches to the Court of Directors for the better Administration of Justice by a Coalition of the Courts of Justice established by the late Administration with the Supreme Court of Judicature. On the Basis of this the Chief Justice has with incomparable Ability and Dispatch drawn out a Bill or Sketch of an Act of Parliament which I have sent

to the Court of Directors by these Ships, and if they do not pass it, it is impossible by any other Means to save this Country from everlasting Doubt and Embarrassment, let who will rule it. The Judges have all given me under their Hands a general but as complete an Approbation of it as I could wish. Sir E. I. sees all your Letters. He has no Correspondence with A. R. I cannot judge of the Expediency of your proposed Voyage to England. I am sorry that it should be necessary. I wish Bengal was in your Line, but the Time I suppose would not allow it, nor do I know an Object *for you* to make it in your Way. I will talk with Colonel Dow ; but it appears to me impracticable. You must be more explicit.

[The Passage in one of your Letters which I said gave me Uneasiness was something relating to good Sir Edward Hughes. I thought it marked an Inclination in him to the wrong Side, and I love him so well, that I would rather have his good wishes than many Mens' Interest.] You will have heard of the Conclusion of the Treaty at Poona on the 1st ult.

I am with the sincerest Affection Dear Sir  
Yours.

W. HASTINGS.

I will write again soon—and to J—— J——.

[The date of the foregoing fragment is fixed approximately by its reference to the Treaty of Purandhar.] For the plan to amalgamate the Supreme Court at Calcutta with the Company's courts outside the settlement see Hastings' letter to Sullivan of 21 March, 1776 (Gleig, *Hastings*, ii. 35, etc.). 'Sir E. I.' is of course Impey, but I don't know who A. R. may have been.

[Regarding Sir Edward Hughes, Macpherson had written on 27 October, 1775, that Colonel Thornton, ■ homeward bound emissary of Monson, had converted the commodore to the side of the Majority, and that they had had a great argument about it at dinner aboard Hughes' ship.] This reference, it may be noted, confirms Dr. Busteed's opinion



SIR JOHN MACPHERSON  
AFTER A PORTRAIT BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST

(*Echoes of Old Calcutta*, 4th ed., p. 404) that Sydney Grier was mistaken in supposing that an earlier reference of Macpherson's to 'your fair female friend' was the passage which Hastings had taken amiss.

v

*Calcutta*

31 October 1776.

My dear Sir,

I have just received yours of the 24th ult<sup>o</sup> and reply to it thus early that I may comply with the Injunction with which it concludes.

The N[abob] has acted properly ; but his Letters cannot contain stronger Arguments in support of his Rights, than those which he used in his first Remonstrances to Lord P[igot]. It is one of the best compositions of the kind for sound Reasoning, compact Matter, connected Arrangement, and even affecting expression, that I have ever read. Lord N[orth] will be in possession of it.

You must not be offended at McL[eane]. He is too busy, and acts too much, to write. I sometimes receive from him scarce more than half Hints in a dozen Lines of the most interesting Events.

[I am sorry for the Resolution which you have taken, because I think the Loss will prove in the period which must remain of Suspence to him an irreparable Loss to your Friend the N[abob].<sup>1</sup> He wants a Counsellor of Understanding, Integrity & persuasion, Qualitiés not always united. But I know not what Reasons may be in the opposite scale to make your Departure necessary. If you are fixed in your Resolution I shall feel an additional Regret from the impossibility of your making

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<sup>1</sup> 'The N' is interpolated in (I think) Macpherson's hand.

Calcutta a part of your route. I fear it is impossible. You know best.] <sup>1</sup>

I thank you for the Lights which you have given me on the secret Motives of the Conduct of ———, and I hope those which you have afforded him will yet be an Inducement to him to change it. It shall remain an inviolable secret with me.

I have no copy of my Letter to Sir E. Hughes, and but a faint Recollection of the Contents which I believe were very miscellaneous.

I have the Affidavit—the most infamous Production, and the falsest from the very Context that I ever read. It ought not to have been administered. It ought not to have been communicated.

I begin to despair of another packet from Suez, though another was to have followed in Ten Days after the former, and the Event of the Reconsideration of the Resolution of the Court of Directors was too important not to have been sent to me had Mr Graham, for whose Life I am greatly apprehensive, been able : But he was cautioned not to exceed the latter end of July in the Time of his Packet reaching Cairo, and it is now 3 months from the period. All the world are going there. I am my dear Sir

Your affectionate & faithful  
Servant

WARREN HASTINGS.

You will hear from others of the little Change which has been produced yet by Colonel M[onson]'s death, and perhaps will be disappointed, as others have been, who expected it to occasion an instant and universal revolution. I have laid down a Line which has nothing

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<sup>1</sup> These square brackets are probably interpolations by Macpherson, perhaps intended as directions to a copyist.



personal in it, but in the Event adding to my Credit. I mean to exert my power, but with great Caution, and for great purposes only. The revenue engages my principal Attention.

I have received ■ Letter from J. J. but must take Time to reply to it. I read with Joy the expressions of it which the whole contains, but the request with which it concludes is not I fear within my Reach.

Mr Dunkinson is not arrived. He sent me your Letter from Vizag[apatam] where he touched. He has (I understand) a large public Packet with him, the Design of which I conjecture, and I believe you are apprised of it. If you are, you will understand me when I tell you that it is a proof equally of Weakness and ill policy to desire another to do what your own *Duty prescribes*, your own *Interest requires*, and you are possessed of the *Means to perform* for yourself.

I am grieved to hear that the Members of the new Council do not maintain the Cordial Union of sentiment which they ought. It is the Duty of every Man who has an Influence with them to preach to them the indispensable Necessity of Unanimity in all their Resolutions and in all their declared Sentiments. Let them differ in private ; but in public and on record they should be but of One Mind. No Man's Name should appear to a separate Opinion. If they divide they are ruined. If they proclaim Doubt of the Legality of their powers they will teach others to doubt it, and to disobey them. Do you understand me ?

Macpherson's letter of 24 September, 1776, to which this replies, does not seem to have been preserved ; but it must have been principally concerned with the revolution that had taken place at Madras in the previous August, when Pigot was seized and hurried off into confinement at St. Thomas Mount, while the discontented body of councillors seized the government. Benfield was the person mainly concerned in

this business, as Pigot's restoration of the Raja of Tanjore interfered with Benfield's financial claims on the Nawab secured on the revenues of Tanjore ; the degree of the Nawab's complicity is uncertain, but his two sons are said to have attended the meetings (held at Benfield's and at the Commander-in-chief's garden-houses) where the arrest of the governor was decided on. 'The secret motives of the conduct of ——' perhaps afforded Hastings the reason for destroying the letter in which they were detailed. '——' may perhaps have been Benfield.

The affidavit so severely condemned was one sworn by William Randall, late captain in the Nawab's service, and communicated to Sir Edward Hughes, the commodore on the station, accusing Amir-ul-Umara, the Nawab's second son, of proposing to murder Pigot. This was doubtless a mere spiteful invention. Had the Amir resolved on such a deed he would have chosen a less conspicuous agent, and one whose mouth could have been more easily closed.

The Suez packet, which Hastings was expecting so eagerly, had miscarried owing to the Cairo ship's sailing a week earlier from Marseilles than had been expected. Consequently Maclean's long letter of 25 June was delayed (Gleig, *Hastings*, ii. 71). Hastings knew that Ministry had taken an active and successful part in the elections of directors held in the previous spring, and that it was resolved to attempt to carry an address to the Crown praying for the recall of Hastings and Barwell ; but he had still to learn that when the directors adopted the resolution the proprietors met and rescinded it.

At Calcutta itself a revolution had taken place by the death of Colonel Monson on 25 September, as this, with the Governor-General's casting vote, transferred the majority from Clavering to Hastings.

The concluding part of the postscript seems to refer to the hesitations of the Madras councillors when they found themselves in power. They had received recognition of their authority from the Governor-General and Council, pending the arrival of orders from England ; but they still could not make up their minds to face the possible legal consequences of enforcing obedience to their orders.

## VI

*Fort William**6 November 1776.*

My dear Sir,

My last by Accident missed the post and therefore goes with this. I have since received yours of the 13th of October. I most heartily rejoice at your Resolution to stay. *You may see by my former Letter how necessary I thought your Presence in this short Crisis—it cannot be long. The Occasion is too alarming to admit of the Delays usual in other References made to England. I am glad Sir R. is gone. It is the Fault of the Council if they suffer an Opposition that may endanger the public Safety, or embarrass their Measures. I am grieved at the Nabob's Domestic Uneasinesses. The Fault lies in the indiscrete [sic] Zeal of the Friends of O. al A. I wish it could be retrieved. A desperate Cause will always drive the best Men to Desperate Means of Safety, but I cannot think him otherwise culpable. He did possess a Disposition most ingenuous, mild and amiable. He cannot be wholly changed. I repeat that the Situation into which he is forced by the unhappy Decrees past in his Favor in the Supposition of an Event which in an Asiatic Government ought never to be Supposed, excuses every Step that he takes to elude the Effects of it. I see but a Glimpse of Light to the Remedy of such an Evil, and that I cannot trust to writing.*

I was much affected with your Account of the last Minutes of my valued Friend Sir John.<sup>1</sup> What is it that your Friend J. J. has promised to do for him? I am yet interested in whatever regards him, or his Connections. Poor Fellow!—but why? He requires no Pity! He lived happy in Defiance of Poverty and Pain, and the

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note in Macpherson's hand, 'Clerk'.

Fortitude with which he supported the last excruciating Day of his Life makes even his Death *enviable*.

I will most gladly meet the *Design of your Friend*<sup>1</sup> which is wise and seasonable ; and I am pleased with the *proposed Reference*. On the first I have already done a good Deal by Way of preface, which you shall see, because I think it necessary that he should know it.

I am truly and affectionately Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

Macpherson's letter of 13 October, 1776, which Hastings here answers, is preserved in Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29137, f. 373. It reports that Pigot and his friends still hope to recover power by inducing the troops to support them, but that a proclamation (which Macpherson himself prepared — 'a friend of yours dictated it to a councillor who could hardly write') had had a soothing effect. Matters seem so unsettled that the Nawab won't hear of his return to England at the moment ; and the Commander-in-chief, Sir Robert Fletcher (the 'Sir R.' of Hastings' letter), has begun 'to be troublesome. I must own to you his conduct has given me a total dislike to his character. His breast contains your *Devil of faction*. Did I not imagine that he is approaching beyond redemption to his speedy grave, I would tell you more.' This severe verdict is hardly too severe. I have sketched the early career of Sir Robert in *Dupleix and Clive* ; when he returned to Madras as Commander-in-chief he exhibited the same inveterate love of intrigue. But he was at last near his end. He was soon to go to sea for the benefit of his health, and he was put ashore in a dying state at Mauritius. 'I believe he will be as little regretted here as at Bengal', was the epitaph devised by an observant dweller at Madras. No wonder Hastings was glad of his departure.

Another matter to which Macpherson alludes was rising troubles with the Nawab's eldest son, Umdat-ul-Umara (Hastings' 'O. al A.'). He had set up a separate correspondence with the Directors, it is said on Fletcher's instigation. The great trouble was the question of the succession to the Nawab. The younger son, Amir-ul-Umara, was thought a

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note as above, 'Nabob'.



more resolute, active spirit ; and the Nawab both now and for long after was busily seeking promises from various English authorities to support such a settlement of the succession as he should determine. One of the great sources of trouble with the Nawab had been the refusal of the Madras Council to enter into any such engagements.

'My valued friend,' Sir John Clerk, who had been buried at Madras on 11 October, was a retired captain of the Navy, who came out to India like so many others in the hope of mending his fortune. Macpherson describes his last moments, and adds that Jean Jacques had promised him what would clear off all his embarrassments. Death at such a moment may seem somewhat ironical ; but Sir John would have had long to wait for the fulfilment of any promises made to him.

'The design of your friend' was to propose a formal and full treaty with the Bengal Government. The absence of any treaty between the Nawab and the Company had long been deemed by Hastings an evil of the first magnitude. No wonder then that he welcomed such a proposal. Nor in view of the ill-success of the Madras Council was it surprising that he was willing to take the matter out of their hands. But he seems quite to have overlooked the furious opposition that such a measure would provoke among the councillors, as also the extent to which a treaty with Bengal would enable the Nawab to get his own way by playing off the supreme against the provincial government.

## VII

*Fort William**17 January 1777.*

My dear Sir,

Having missed the Opportunity of the last Post to reply to your Letter of the 19th ult. which arrived (as I recollect) on that Day, I fear that my Answer will be too late to find you at Madras. This Doubt precludes me from writing to you so fully as I might were I certain of its reaching you in Time. I learn with a good Deal of Regret your final Resolution of returning to England. I am sorry to lose you though but as a Neighbour at the Distance of some Degrees, but



what I mostly regret is that I could not see you before your Departure. I have many Matters which I anxiously wish to communicate to you, but I cannot commit them to writing, and on many points I wish for that Communication which a personal Meeting only could afford.

The Materials which you desire would fill volumes, and I cannot command my Time to write even Pages, but I will employ all my vacant Time in furnishing you with them. The Law Arrangements alone consist of a large Folio Book. The first Sketch which I desired Mr G. Vansittart to shew you I will send you by Captain Court who is on the point of sailing, and may (I hope he will) be with you sooner than this. Many Points I could impart to you in Conversation, I could *give* you in writing, but I cannot trust them to a vagrant Correspondence.

My Views are great and extensive, but I want the Spirit of Enterprise, with my Spirits sunk with a long Contest to which I see no End, with Abuse of the grossest Kind from the Court of Directors repeated on every Measure which they can mark as mine, and the Despair of obtaining an effectual Authority while the Act of Parliament lasts, and then I suppose the best I can hope for will be to be recalled with my Associates and make Way for a Sett of new Rulers.

Were you with me I have not a Thought that I would keep a Secret from you, for my Confidance in you is unlimited. I am certain of your Friendship, your Honor, and of the Benefit which I would derive from your Judgement and especially from that Knowledge in which I am most deficient, I mean the Knowledge of the British World to which all my Designs ought, if they can be, to be squared. Why I tell you this I scarcely know, for if you have not already taken your passage, you must have

formed all your Arrangements so as to put it out of your power (at this Season of the Year especially) to visit Bengal. Allow me however to add that if it could be made a part of your Route, you would meet with as affectionate a Reception from me, as you could be entitled to from a Friend attached to you even by ■ long Intercourse of Years. If not, *accept my heartiest Wishes for the Accomplishment of all yours, whatever They may be*, and God give you a prosperous Voyage.

I will send you by Captain Court a Copy of my Letter to Mr Stratton. I doubt if you have seen more than the complimentary preface. The whole I would not fear to read aloud to a Court of Proprietors. It was unfair in him to shew What I wrote confidentially to him, and to make me a party in his Disputes : It was disingenuous to publish a partial Extract, when he knew that that part had an intimate Connection with the whole.

Adieu.

I am most affectionately

Yrs

WARREN HASTINGS.

Three or four letters from Macpherson intervened between the last and the present letter from Hastings, which, in the expectation that Macpherson might have sailed for home before its arrival, was directed to 'John Macpherson, Esq., recommended to the care of [Charles] Oakley, Esq., Secretary'. Oakley, destined to become Sir Charles and Governor, was a friend of Macpherson's and acted as his joint-agent after his departure, forwarding to Hastings news from the durbar and Macpherson's bills which the durbar refused to pay. •

Macpherson's letters deal with the Nawab and his sons, whose mutual jealousies make his position almost unbearable. The Nawab has now come to suspect his two elder sons of a design to overthrow him, and their alarms make constant calls on Macpherson's talent for conciliation. He relates also Colonel Stuart's attempt to insist on Pigot's being packed off to Europe, by force if need be, although it would probably have involved bloodshed, he thinks. But their main topic

is England and English politics, as was natural seeing that he was about to sail for home on the *Lioness*. He is sure that a crisis is impending. 'If ever', he writes, 'it is destined that I should cut any great stroke for myself relative to India affairs, it must be at a time when the whole face of India, the approaching expiration of the Charter, and the apprehended loss of America, call loudly for the attention of ministry to those who may be able to assist them in or out of the scrape.' He will be deeply concerned with pushing the Nawab's interests in England, but he will go into Parliament and defend Hastings' interests as well. He gives Hastings some sound though cynical advice. He points out that Hastings had been attacked by the methods of corruption. 'There were some others besides your direct opponents who had a deep interest in your removal, and who worked through the whole spiral line of corruption and intrigue that runs from the foot of the Th—— to the meanest voter's stall in the East end of the town. You must ever be aware of those who would attack you by such a line and you should have agents at home to maintain the justice of your ground. . . . From all this you may readily comprehend that whatever turn affairs may take in your favour, even you must dispose of your power like every public man in high modern situation, in supporting that situation.'

Such were the circumstances and expectations of his friend when Hastings wrote the foregoing letter, uncertain where, if ever, it would come to hand, longing to communicate his large and secret hopes for the transformation of Indian politics, but fearful to entrust them to 'a vagrant correspondence'.

## VIII

[Duplicate. Copy with signature.]

*Fort William*

23 November 1777.

My dear Sir,

My last Letter was dated the 26th of July. With it I sent a Letter to be delivered to Mr Woodman containing my Request that he would shew you all my Dispatches, *to you my confidential Friend*, and I introduced him at the same to you by the same Title.

The same Packet enclosed an Introductory Letter for you to Mr Dunning, expressed with the warmth peculiar to the generous Feelings of the Writer. At that Time General Clavering was living, nor had I any expectation of his Death, though it followed so soon after. The Principle of my political Conduct was therefore very different from what his Death occasioned, but the Effect of both is precisely the same, as you will have discovered by recollecting what I told you in that Letter, and comparing it with what I have since written to Mr Dunning, and now to Mr Woodman. [This I consider as the close of my political Contests, as I have left myself no more to do in them than to receive *aequa Mente* whatever may be their Issue. The Man whose Rancor I dreaded, from a certain Knowledge that he would have made no other use of Power, but to persecute every Man who had ever shewn anything like Attachment to me, and to undo all that remained of my doings in this Country, is no longer my Rival, and as it will be impossible to find his equal, I am indifferent, or nearly so, about my future Fortune. Do not think I speak from an impulse of Resentment. May God forgive him all the Injuries which he has heaped upon me, and me, as I forgive him.]

In this breathing Time after a hard struggle of three Years, I feel no small Pleasure, and even a degree of Vanity where few People would think of applying it, in the Reflection that I have never experienced an hour of Sickness, nor ever absented myself from Council, once only excepted when I was obliged to give my Attendance at a meeting of the Justices for the Examination of Mr Fowke. Yet my Constitution is rather infirm, and my Temper naturally quick and irritable. Is it ■ Virtue, or must I admit it the Effect of an Accident, that the first has never failed me, in my severest Trials?



Mr Wheeler is not yet arrived, and the Season being so far advanced, I do not suppose that he will be here before January, if so soon. I shall make it a point of *public Duty* to be on quiet, if I cannot be on confidential Terms with him ; and as our mutual Squabbles can do us individually no good, it shall be my care to prevent or to appease every disorderly Spirit that may rise up to disturb our Councils, and impede Business. I have already followed this Line, and with good Effect ; and if I can succeed in pursuing it I shall take credit from it. \*

I hope you will read the Papers which I have sent home relating to our last Contests. These which principally merit your Attention are on the Subjects of the Aumeenee Office, and the New Brigade ; both in my Judgement the best Measures of my Government (always excepting the Treaty of Benares,) and the most abused.

Adieu ! Believe me most affectionately and truly yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

[Printed by Gleig, *Hastings*, ii. 181.]  
 A gap of ten months separates the last and the present letter, Hastings' letter of July, 1777, having disappeared, while Macpherson was travelling homewards, arriving in England at the end of July. The only letter which he wrote Hastings from the *Lioness* seems to have been that dated from the Cape, 13 April, 1777, when he learnt with astonishment and concern that Maclean had made an offer of Hastings' resignation to the Ministry—the Company's whole concern must go to ruin along with Hastings' own interests and those of every friend he has if he leaves the chair, but it will be easy enough for him to continue without violating 'the spirit of his resignation'. On arriving in England Macpherson set himself to work to prepare people's minds for Hastings' refusal to accept the consequences of Maclean's 'weak and unaccountable conduct', judging rightly that affairs would so turn out. One great difficulty lay in the fact that Clavering and Francis managed to get their version of the story home first, so that Robinson, the Treasury Secretary, whom North entrusted



with the management of Indian business, was strongly prejudiced against Hastings and his friends. But here Macpherson made full use of his smooth tongue. He offered Robinson and North the perusal of the private letters he had received from Hastings, in order to dispel the false impressions they had received of his earlier conduct ; and, although the offer was not accepted, the readiness with which it was made did something to disarm suspicion. Then too came news of Clavering's death at Calcutta on 30 August, 1777 ; and with his death vanished the main cause of the Treasury's desire to get rid of Hastings and replace him by the General, who was not only a favourite with the King but also had a brother, Sir Thomas, in Parliament with many Tory friends. The Clavering party were now told that if they ceased attacking Hastings, Hastings' friends would not oppose any proposal that might be made to the Company to provide for his brother's family. This adroit suggestion left no one in office very eager to attack the Governor-General, for Francis' friends either carried little weight or were little inclined to exert themselves. But all this was as yet unknown at Calcutta.

' Mr. Wheeler ', whom Hastings should have spelt ' Wheler ', had been appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Colonel Monson's death in 1776. At first he sided with Francis, being under the impression that he was thus furthering the views of the Ministry ; but when the issue of affairs at home became clear, he worked cordially with Hastings until he died in 1783.

The ' Aumeenee Office ' was recently established to control the revenue collections. For a further account of the matter the reader may be referred to Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 81.

## IX

*Fort William*

■5 April 1778.

My dear Sir,

I have lately engaged in an Enterprise which I expect to be judged with the Severity to which I have long [been] accustomed, but the Event will do me Credit, and on that I rely for my best Justification. The Story is too long to tell. ✕ A Detachment has been ordered to march from the Banks of the Jumna to the

Assistance of the Presidency of Bombay. The Rise, Progress, Motives and actual State of this Measure you may read in a Paper which I have sent to Mr Woodman, and I wish you to read it. I have only Time to add that [I am,] my dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate  
Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

[In the foregoing letter Hastings announces the inception of the enterprise which was, after its initial failure under an incompetent leader, to result in Goddard's great march across India to the support of Bombay against the Marathas. The memorandum mentioned seems to be what formed Parts 1 and 2 of the memorandum sent to Laurence Sullivan with Hastings' letter of 23 August, 1778 (see Gleig, *Hastings*, ii. 208, etc.). ]

X

*Fort William*  
23 December 1778.

My dear Friend,

I cannot express how much pleasure I felt on reading a Passage which Mr Barwell shewed me in a Letter from his Sister of a very late Date. It spoke of some decisive Success which I had obtained, and ascribed it solely to your Zeal and able Management. Of what Nature this Advantage was She did not explain, nor am I very sanguine in my Interpretation of it; but it was a Confirmation of the Hopes which I had placed on your Friendship, which in the present Warmth which glows in my Heart I cannot testify my sense of in stronger Terms, than by assuring you that I esteem it one of the greatest Acquisitions of my Life. I wait with great Impatience for the News of the future Arrangement of this Government which I am told was in Agitation in June last, but am utterly ignorant of what was likely to be determined concerning myself.

I have the satisfaction to tell you that these Provinces are in a State of perfect Security, as well as present Peace. For other particulars I refer you to Mr Sullivan, to whom I have written pretty fully by this Dispatch. This was written solely for the Relief of my own Mind. Adieu. Be assured that you possess not a Friend who is more truly and heartily yours than I am.

WARREN HASTINGS.

[Endorsed : 'Governor Hastings, December '78. A very strong letter'.]

When Hastings wrote the foregoing, he was still ignorant of the success of his friends in England in inducing the Ministry to abandon hostile proceedings against him, but he had heard of his friend Sullivan's election as Director in the previous spring (Gleig, *Hastings*, ii. 224). [Barwell's sister, Mrs. Mary Barwell, was an active lady, who had constantly bombarded the Treasury with letters declaring the good-will of her brother and the political support which might be expected of him. She was also exceedingly anxious to secure his return to England, and consequently disposed to make the most of all movements favourable to Hastings, since they would render her brother's co-operation in Calcutta less necessary.] With Hastings' letter to Macpherson should be compared his comments in his letter to Sullivan of 9 December of the same year (Gleig, *loc. cit.*).

XI

*Fort William*

30 January 1780.

My dear Macpherson,

I have received all your Letters. I cannot answer them by these Dispatches ; but believe me I feel as I ought the warm, zealous and unexampled proofs which you have given me of your Friendship, and the Utility of such a Friendship. Possibly you may hear from me before this will yet reach you. Mr Sullivan will tell you by what Means, and will shew you my Letters, which you must read as addressed to yourself. I have

only written, and can only write to him. Try and see him as soon as you receive this.

I have commissioned my friend Mr Baber, who went home on a Dutch Ship, the Lamb, the beginning of this Month, to tell you all he knew, and to receive from you all you knew; but I am affraid on Recollection that I forgot to give him an Introduction to you. I now perform this Ceremony to both. Trust him implicitly. He is warmly my Friend, a Man of strict Honor, and you will find him One after your own Heart.

Adieu. Believe me ever your most affectionate Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

In the comment on No. VIII. I have mentioned the successful activity of Hastings' friends in England immediately after Macpherson's return in 1777. Macpherson's view is summed up in a passage of his letter dated 23 May, 1778: 'You may be Governor-General as long as you wish. . . . If you value my affection, or opinion, I expect it of you that you will not move from your station, and I further tell you that if you do not improve your fortune, you have not a just sense of things. I entreat it of you, not to come home *poor*, unless you search after disgrace and vexation. Verbum sat. . . .' Then in the next month—13 June, 1778—comes the first hint of Macpherson's obtaining a seat on the Bengal Council. 'I have been talked with at a distance for a seat in the new Supreme Council—more of this hereafter.' A few days later—16 June—he forwards for Hastings' perusal a copy of a document prepared for the Ministry in 1776, 'founded upon the proceedings of your disputes in Council, to form the ground of impeachment against you and Mr. Barwell. It was temporarily suppressed in consequence of M'Leane's arrangement for you and the proposed resignation', but it might be revived, and Hastings had better provide himself with rebutting evidence in case of accidents. This, it seems, must be the printed paper which Robinson submitted to the King with his letter of 15 September, 1776 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 37833, f. 26). 'When it is finished', Robinson wrote, 'and the business has been considered, the work may be circulated or not as His Majesty shall please to order, till when it is humbly proposed to confine it to the perusal of a very few.' Its communication to Mac-



pherson is proof at once of his talent for manœuvre and of the abandonment by the Treasury of serious designs against the Governor-General.

Then early in 1779 followed a meeting with General Fraser and Mr. Bristow, who were acting as agents for Francis, and who actually proposed an accommodation between Hastings and their principal—a proposal into which Macpherson, it seems, did not enter. But when news arrived that Hastings had refused to appoint young Fowke to the Post Office at Benares, Francis' friends instantly made a strong push against Hastings; and in order to give greater weight to his representations, Macpherson decided to obtain a seat in the House of Commons. This he found at Cricklade—a borough destined to an unsavoury reputation. He was re-elected with Paul Benfield at the General Election of the following year, but was then unseated on petition for bribery. These electoral activities probably mark a new alliance. Till this time Macpherson and Benfield had been on opposite sides of the Carnatic tangle—as if their respective claims had been mutually destructive. In Macpherson's earlier letters to Hastings, he constantly refers to Benfield in terms that might appropriately have fallen from the lips of Burke. In the letter reporting his election he does not mention his new ally, but I think it must have been about this time that a connection was formed, and that among the numerous and powerful 'friends that I have acquired since I have been in the House' must have been numbered the notorious 'Count Rupee'.

## XII

*Fort William**17 March 1780.*

My Dear Sir,

I did hope to write you a long Letter by this Dispatch, which I am affraid is the last of this Season; but those which I have written to Mr Sullivan have exhausted all the little Intervals of Time which I have been able to snatch from the Business of our public Dispatches, and these have proved an unusual charge upon me by the Abundance of new Matter with which



they are filled. I must therefore refer you to him, and have for that purpose written the enclosed, unnecessarily perhaps

You will see by them how serious our Disputes are become with the Judges, and the dangerous Responsibility which we have assumed in our Opposition to their Encroachments. We have done nothing else, though we never had more to do, for these Six Weeks past, and I dread more the Consequences of this Misapplication of our Time than any which are likely to be immediately derived from them, as these may be easily averted by a steady Adherence to the Declarations which We have made. I am anxious to know what Reception our Petition will meet with, and reflect with Anguish of Mind on the Necessity which has driven Us to this desperate Resource.

The Obligations which I owe to Mr James McPherson make me more than ordinarily solicitous that he may not think me insensible to them, or that I have not made the Return to them which I ought, and especially with respect to his Two Relations and Namesakes, one of whom I know thinks that I have not done all for him that I ought to do, or than I can now do, though he and all the World sees Men promoted in the military Line who have no Merits but such as in the sense of the present Commander-in-Chief are annexed to personal Disrespect and Opposition to me. I have written to him, and I beg you to support what I have written. This man of Caprice cannot long remain with Us. His ill Temper or Infirmities, or both in Conjunction, must soon compell him to return home, and you may be assured that if I am possessed of power in the military Line, and can apply it to the promotion of the Views of these Gentlemen I will, and am determined to do it.

You will see the Terms on which Mr Francis and I

have accommodated our Differences. It was impossible to have gratified Bristow without Ruin to my own Influence, and spreading a Distrust in the Measures of this Government throughout all Indostan ; and yet I wish that He or any one else had that Station who could free me from my Share of the Responsibility annexed to it ; for such are the Distractions in that Province that I fear they will grow past a Cure, if they continue as they are much longer. Yet at this Time I have no more real Concern in the Management of them than you have. Purling has strong Claims upon me, and though Sir E. Coote has behaved grossly ill to me, I wish not to be upon Terms of irreconcilable Enmity with him, which must have been the Case if I had recalled Purling, whom he supposed to have been placed at Lucnow by his sole Election, which is not the Case. But a few Months will put the Matter out of all Difficulty. If I am confirmed in the Government I will have my own Agents, Men to whose Abilities and Integrity I can trust, at the Head of every capital Department. If Mr F. is to displace me (which God forbid) he will do the same, and has declared it. I have written a short hasty Letter to your Friend, Mr Greville, and for your Sake I will gratify his Thirst for natural Knowledge to the utmost.

I have not been inattentive to a private Commission of your own. The Loss of the Strafford, on which my Secretary Captain Palmer had taken his Passage for Madras, for that and one more express Purpose, has hitherto defeated my Wishes ; but I shall make another Effort, and hope in my next to inform you of the Result of it.

I am, my dear Sir, ever  
Your most affectionate and  
Faithful Friend,

WARREN HASTINGS.

For Hastings' references in the foregoing letter to the disputes with the judges of the Supreme Court and his accommodation with Francis, the reader should consult Hastings' letters to Baber, and to Sullivan of 30 January, and 4 March, 1780 (Gleig, ii. 244, and 249, etc.).

James Macpherson, famous as Ossian, played a large part in the Anglo-Indian intrigues of the time, mainly on the side of Hastings and the Nawab of the Carnatic, and consequently as an active ally of his namesake John. The Commander-in-chief, whose petulance and opposition had obstructed the promotion of two more namesakes and kinsmen, Captains A. and J. Macpherson, was of course Sir Eyre Coote, who had gone out in May, 1778, promising John Macpherson, who had seen him off from Portsmouth, all support for both Hastings and the Nawab; but on his arrival he had displayed in yet more acute form the querulous disposition he had always manifested (cf. Hastings' Letter to Sullivan, 18 April 1779, printed by Gleig, ii. 260).

'The private Commission', mentioned at the close of the letter, was connected with the pecuniary disappointments John Macpherson had undergone at the hands of the Nawab. On leaving Madras he had been promised a remittance by the next ship. The money never came, and when in despair he drew bills on the Nawab they were dishonoured. He then drew on Hastings, authorising him to draw on Macpherson's agents at Madras, and at the same time desired him to use his influence with the Nawab to get his long-promised payment. Palmer was to have not only carried out this commission, but also advanced the project for a closer connection between the Nawab and the Bengal Government. Cf. Hastings' Letter to Sullivan, 30 August, 1780 (Gleig, ii. 297).

### XIII

#### ✓ A SUMMARY ABSTRACT OF MR HASTINGS' GOVERNMENT AND PRESENT SITUATION.

[Endorsed: '1781'.]

The Governor General took charge of the Government of Bengal when there was a debt due from the Company to Individuals of above 120 Lacks of Rupees. No Credit—

No Police—No Government—A neglected and Supine Army—No System of Collections—No Form of Finances—No Hand to guide—No Head to direct. This Chaos of things he brought into Form. The English Government which at, and till, this time had worn the appearance of Secret Agents to the Nabob, was now declared and established. He withdrew the Curtain behind which the Servants of the Company had hitherto been concealed. He avowed their Supreme Authority and taught the Natives they were now publicly to obey Those, whom They had before appeared to Govern. He made a Treaty at Benares with the Vizier, which secured a wavering and formidable Prince to the Company's Interest. He provided by it an Annual Sum that defrayed the Expense of one third of the Army, and brought into the Provinces a Quantity of specie that was much wanted. The use to which He turned the Army by this Treaty was beneficial and necessary to rouse it from its Inactivity. The Cause was as just as a breach of Treaty on the part of an Enemy can warrant. It was Politically just. It was legally just. And the Event proved it wise.

With the advantage which this Event secured, And on the foundation which these foreign Negotiations had laid for an internal plan of Government, He had the means to form and the opportunity to attend to this Grand Object. He formed an admirable plan for the Collection of the Revenues (which hath existed ever since amidst a thousand obstacles and difficulties). He formed a plan for the Administration of Justice equally excellent. He regulated the Police. He brought every department into Order and Obedience. He raised the fallen Credit of the Company. He realized large and extraordinary Collections. He increased the Investment. He paid off that immense debt before mentioned. And he received besides, a large fund for Exigencies.



About this time a New Government was formed. Their History is pretty well known. They opposed every measure because He proposed it. They worked upon his Plans, tho' They pretended to condemn them. They followed his System tho' They abused it. They decried his Abilities tho' those abilities guided their Actions in the fundamental points of business. In the height of their disputes Mr Hastings never lost sight of the Public good, nor confounded it with Personal Resentments. He was steady in his observance of general Principles that tended to General benefit. And in the midst of every degrading instance of Private Pique and interested Malice He directed the Councils and carried on the general detail of business which their Ignorance of the Country and its Government must have thrown into confusion had the feelings of the Man overcome the duty of the Governor, had He been silently Sullen ; had He been provoked to intemperate Resentment ; had He preferred a Triumph over their Ignorance and Malice to the Comyany's Interest ! How hath this noble Conduct been rewarded by the Court of Directors ? They have aided these mean designs of Mr Hastings' Opponents. They have abetted their own Enemies. And They have done all in their power to disgrace the Man to whom They owe every thing, To whom They owe their present opulence and existence, the Regulation of this Country, and the form of a Government which hath secured a regular collection of Revenue, a large Investment, and the pay of an Army that protects them from all fear.

At the commencement of Mr Hastings' Government the Court of Directors disgraced Mahomed Reza Khan. They committed the charge of his prosecution to Mr Hastings as the *only Man* on whom They could rely for an impartial judge. In this delicate situation Mr Hastings had to combat with every feeling which humanity, like



His, could inspire, and with many temptations that fortitude less than his could Not resist. Nundcomar was set in opposition to Mahomed Reza Khan by the Court of Directors. His temptations to disgrace this Man were to be combated and thwarted. Mr G., a Member of the Council, warmly exerted himself in behalf of M. R. K. The former employed every engine of Interest against, and the latter for Mahomed Reza. Mr Hastings resisted them all. And guided solely by an Integrity and Honour worthy of the Confidence with which his Character had inspired the Court of Directors, He brought Mahomed Reza to a fair, open, and impartial Trial. He was neither warped by the partial representations of Nundcomar's envy, nor of Mr Graham's Interest, but conducted it with the strictest justice, which in the end proved so favourable to Mahomed Reza Khan, that He acknowledged His Wisdom and Goodness with professions of unbounded gratitude. Yet this Mahomed Reza after a little Struggle, which *doubt alone* created, forgot every obligation, and the moment He thought Mr Hastings' Interest was lost in Europe, He offered his Services to the Majority in the most effectual mode,—that of becoming an Informer.—General Clavering accepted them and He was taken into favour. Then this delinquent of the Court of Directors was restored to their favour, and because he had basely deserted the Governor General, They generously took him into their protection. They adopted him by an infallible Principle, That as He had gained their favour by Ingratitude, He would continue to merit it by further Infamy. He is accordingly ordered to be restored to his Station of Naib Souba because He has behaved ungenerously to the Governor General. Mr Hastings will not reinstate a Man merely to proclaim his own disgrace to the World and to the People He is appointed to Govern. Mr Fowke and his Son are ordered to be

rewarded for similar Services, and the same Spirit hath manifested itself in all their late Orders.

Whilst General Clavering and Mr Monson lived, the Court of Directors joined in their Invectives against Mr Hastings and did all in their power to remove him ; But when the Nomination devolved to them according to Act of Parliament, they reappointed him : Yet notwithstanding this remarkable instance of their acknowledging Mr Hastings' superior merit, They seemed determined to counteract their own choice. For when this fair opportunity of restoring peace and Harmony in Bengal presented itself ; When it was hoped that Party would have died with the Person who formed it ; When the bad effects of it had been felt in every department ; When the Fabric which had been raised by Mr H. had stood the repeated shocks that opposition of every kind had given it ; And when nothing but Unanimity could repair the breaches which discord had made, the Court of Directors widened these breaches by keeping alive the embers of that Faction They ought to have smothered. They reviled and reprobated all the measures of Mr Hastings because Mr Francis objected to them. They praised Mr Francis because He was an enemy to Mr H. and they seemed to have kept the Governor General in the Chair purely for the sake of abusing him.

This Conduct of the Court of Directors shews that they had entered into all the violence of a Faction which had been so unhappy in its consequences to the Company and the Country. Blinded by this passion they neither saw the folly nor the Indecency of becoming Parties in a Cause where they had been appointed Judges. They seemed to have forgotten all duty to their Constituents and all regard for themselves in their Resentment to Mr Hastings—a Man, whom many of these Directors had been most lavish in his Praise—A Man whose Abilities

and experience They had repeatedly acknowledged with gratitude. Yet this is the Man They are now endeavouring to remove by every mean Artifice they can devise. That the Governor must have somebody to assist him in his various occupations ; That he must have friends to advise with, That he must have Confidants to trust to, That he must have Agents to act for him, will not—cannot be denied. Every friend, Every Confidant, Every Agent hath been in some mode or other prosecuted reviled and disgraced. Sir John D'Oily the Persian Translator, Mr Sumner the Secretary, Mr Elliot the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, Mr Middleton Resident at Oude, Mr Bogle his Private Assistant, Mr Belli his private Secretary, And in fact every Man that enjoyed his Confidence or was thought his Friend, whether officially or privately employed by him. It is in vain They pretend the good of the Service in all these Severities to Mr Hastings' friends. It proceeds from the basest envy. They are in hopes that as They cannot force him, They may be able to tease him to Resign, And that by withdrawing every kind of Assistance from him and marking every Man who shall offer any to him, They may leave him unassisted and unsupported, and impose a task too difficult even for his abilities to perform. Else why all this persecution of his friends and so much favour to Mr Francis ? Why must Mr McKenzie have his Contract continued when others are cancelled but because He is One of Mr Francis' Family ? Why must Mr Fowke go to Benares rather than Mr Graham but because he is One of General Clavering's and Francis' Party ? Why must Mr Middleton be recalled and Mr Bristow be again sent out of England to be Resident at Oude but because he is Mr Francis' friend ? That this is folly, that it is Indecent, that it is criminal to their Constituents, cannot be denied. What can be more Absurd than to place a

Man in the highest Trust and deprive him of every means of executing it? What can be more indecorous than Masters entering into the Quarrels of their Servants, and what can be more wicked than fomenting divisions which are the bane of Public good? The Court of Directors expatiate largely and exclaim loudly against the Contracts and increase of Salaries which Mr Hastings hath made; And in their rage of Censure they make neither Allowances nor distinctions. Mr Hastings may perhaps have been partial in some instances. But what is He to do? Can He or the Court of Directors expect that Gentlemen will labour in his Service without any Reward? They must at least have some means of Subsistence. And the Governor General hath had no other mode of rewarding them. But in doing this He hath been most scrupulous and at last reduced to the necessity of parting with his most necessary Assistants because They could not live in Calcutta on the allowances of the Company. Yet a few things given to these Gentlemen to keep them from want have been commented upon as if Mr Hastings was wantonly squandering the Treasure in Contracts for his own private Emolument. With regard to Salaries they have been given only to Gentlemen who held high and important Offices and on the justest Principle Mr Hastings hath consented to them—namely—To bind Integrity by liberal Appointments. Not One of the Heads of the offices at the Presidency under the Supreme Council have Salaries adequate to their importance, and several not equal to the necessaries of Life. These have been augmented, and for the Humane not to say necessary measure Mr Hastings is treated as if he had plundered the Treasury and shared the Spoil. But with all these disadvantages and with all these Enemies hath the Governor General planned and Supported a System of Politics and of Government which almost every hand hath



been raised to pull down. It is a proof of the Solidity of the Fabric that it hath resisted all these Attempts.

The Treaty of Benares was barely not condemned by the Court of Directors, and if the glaring inconsistency of keeping the [ ]<sup>1</sup> of a Treaty They disapproved would not have recoiled on themselves, their Conduct to Mr Hastings warrants the Assertion that They would have disregarded his Merits in this transaction, for wherever They have been compelled to approve what They could not, or durst not condemn, it hath been evidently extorted Praise, and like the reluctant gift of a Miser, the manner evinced with what ill will it was bestowed.

Mr Hastings hath been condemned for opening the Road by Suez. But the Court of Directors have sent many dispatches by this *Improper* Channel. Mr Hastings' Plan of the Collection hath been abused, but it hath been strictly followed.

When Mr Hastings came to his Government it is universally allowed to have been in a State of Anarchy and Confusion. Remedies were to be sought for. Systems were to be adopted. Schemes were to be tried. Mr Hastings was to seek these remedies, adopt these Systems, and try these Schemes. Had He been Endued even with greater Abilities than he possesses it is impossible He could form a Plan so perfect as not to require alteration, addition or amendment. Instead of finding such assistance as might have been expected when He laid his Plans before the New Administration, He met with nothing but opposition, envy, and malicious persecution. Still he persevered, and by his perseverance and the excellence of his System it reluctantly maintained its form and He his dignity. The Court of Directors however

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<sup>1</sup> Blank in the original.



joined the Ministerial Cry and seemed to change their sentiments with the Government.

This is the situation of the Governor General in regard to his Masters and his Council for the Opposition is still kept up.

Let us now view it in another light, as it is affected by the Supreme Court of Judicature. The Love of Power in the Gentlemen of the Law is too notorious to be disputed, and Rome never saw a Pope that contended more vigorously for Supremacy than the Chief Justice hath done at Calcutta. The unhappy division in the Supreme Council gave the Judges an opportunity to extend their power beyond what the Legislature ever intended, and They eagerly seized the occasion. They have subjected every Zemindar in the Country to their Jurisdiction. They have granted Writs of Ejectment against Persons who have bought Estates by order of the Governor General and Council. They have ordered a Writ of Habeas Corpus against the Naib Souba and would have executed it had not Mr H. to avoid the consequence of such a measure, entreated the Chief Justice to suspend the execution of the Writ. By these and many other instances that it would be too tedious to enumerate, They have impressed the Natives with an Idea of their being ■ Superior power to the Supreme Council ; of Course the Chief Justice is regarded as Superior in Station to the Governor General. In a Country the Government of which hath been for ages absolutely Monarchical and its Inhabitants have never known nor can ever comprehend the Idea of any other form, such a Competition lowers their esteem and Veneration for the Station of the Governor General, and operates powerfully with the other causes above recited to render it a shadow of an office. *Nomen et praeterea Nihil.* Checked as Mr H. thus is on every side and in every endeavour, what can

He do? If he plans he cannot execute—And it is in vain that He possesses eminent Abilities for He cannot exert them. And such is the uncommonly hard situation of the Governor General, That without power He is made responsible, Without Assistance He is required to perform everything, and without Support to overcome every difficulty. So far as these various Evils affect the Governor General only, it is plain the Court of Directors would be indifferent, if They had not shewn a pleasure in contributing to them. Perhaps They are not so lost to the Interests of their Constituents as to be quite regardless of their consequences to the Country and therefore they may be induced to attend to a Representation of *them*.

[The divisions and dissensions in the Supreme Council impede and almost stop all business. They damp all Ardour and desire of forming New and improving Old Plans of Administration. For who will propose any scheme when He knows it will lead only to debate?] And in the Inferiour departments the Consequences of this divided state are equally bad. If the Officers of any One are inclined to Neglect their duty, They are encouraged to it, because their Superiours have not time to attend to their Conduct. On the other hand if they are desirous of gaining the applause of their Superiours They are discouraged because their endeavours are neglected; And as it is impossible that five Men can manage such an exclusive and complicated Government as Bengal unless They cordially and heartily unite in giving every portion of their time and Abilities to this One grand Object, Let the Company tremble for the Consequences when They are told, the former is consumed in debate and the latter exerted in Altercation only, That the Governor and Council meet to dispute and part without doing any thing else.

What can be the result of such jarring Principles but

discord and destruction? Irregularities and Enormities may creep into every subordinate Branch of the Service and cannot be corrected. Regulations that are necessary to be made, (or having been made *are neglected*) cannot be attended to. A Striking instance of this kind lately happened in the Calcutta Committee, which for near two Years, had done nothing at all but quarrel and dispute. At last the neglect of their duty had become too notorious to be borne with any longer, and the Governor General was obliged to take public Notice of it in Council. Even this Circumstance became a matter of debate, and because some of the Members were Mr Francis's Friends, a breach of duty could not be punished without contest and dispute. Thus doth the fatal leaven of Party pervade the whole Mass. And a Proposal from the Governor General is sure to meet with opposition whether it be to remove an evil or establish a good.

Whilst the Supreme Council are consuming their time in debate, the Supreme Court are diligently and unitedly employing theirs in undermining the ancient form of Government and establishing their own. If any of the Servants of the Company in the Revenue department use coercive Measures to collect the Rents and prevent them from being withheld by the Zemindars, a Complaint is lodged in the Supreme Court and the Company cast in damages because the Collector neglected to make his demands according to the Forms of the Courts of Westminster. So that the Zemindar is *protected* in his *fraud*, and the Company are *finned* for exacting their *Revenue*.

The Governor General and Council have formed Regulations for the better management of the Revenues and the Administration of Justice which have been approved by the Court of Directors and hitherto found excellent for the purposes of their Institution. But they are now counteracted by the Court, and as They declare

they differ from the laws of England, They will not suffer any One to act by them, but at the Peril of a decision which is predetermined. The Adauluts or Country Courts of Justice are put to a total stop from this apprehension, for the Gentlemen who preside in them are liable to be called from their Stations every hour to answer the Complaint of a Native against whom They have given a decree, and to be not only severely treated, but rudely censured by the Court for having conformed to those very regulations which their Superiours have ordained. This Protection (or rather persecution) the Court most readily afford because it extends their Power and increases their Consequence whilst it diminishes that of the Governor General and Council. In some cases therefore the influence of the Court openly shews itself. In others it is not so plainly discovered. But in all it operates to the prejudice of the Company's Interests and the destruction of that Power which is appointed to Govern the Country.

When News of the War with France arrived, it came so circumstantially evidenced by the Company's Agent at Cairo, Mr Baldwin, that tho' it was not formally ascertained Yet the Governor General with ■ Spirit that deserves the highest praise determined to act upon it. Like a great mind that Spurns at dangers to the Individual, He risked them for the Public Safety, And conscious of the Integrity of his Motives, He resolved to trust to their Nobleness for a Justification of his Conduct. [With a wisdom that was proved to be solid in the Event, and with a resolution that no danger has yet shaken, He advised the reduction of Chandernagore. Not that the petty Town of Chandernagore, which was of no consequence as a Fortress, weighed a straw in the Balance of his resolves. But because it led to his great design of attacking Pondicherry.] It was ■ Commencement of



Hostilities. It was the signal for the Madras Presidency to obey. It was the train that was to give fire to the mine on the Coast where the French Power was to be feared and destroyed. This done, Orders were immediately sent to proceed in an Attack there which had been begun here. But Alas ! the noble ardour which fired Mr Hastings' Mind could not raise a spark of enterprise in the dull head and cold heart of the Great Mr Rumbold or the magnanimous General Munro. These Men, with a Prudence which proceeded from Ignorance and with a caution that was dictated by diffidence, were staggered and alarmed by a Wisdom of Council too extended for their narrow conception, and by a boldness of design which a little Mind can never comprehend. The Magnitude of the object was too great for their limited Apprehensions ; and the liberal Sentiment of encountering some danger in the hope of Public Honour and benefit seemed a wild Chimera to their contracted understanding. When the Governor General talked to them in the language of a great Statesman intent upon an important National Event and reproached them for their tardiness at neglecting to seize the glorious opportunity, They answered in the whining Phrase of mean apprehension ' That They were afraid of legal consequences '. In vain did Mr Hastings exhort and command them to undertake the siege of Pondicherry. They evaded, They refused till orders from the Court of Directors obliged them to do what the Wisdom and Spirit of Mr Hastings could not move them to. Then with an envy which is inherent in little minds and which cunning inspires, they resolved to depreciate that Wisdom They could not imitate and would not obey. The time which was lost between the arrival of the orders of the Governor General and Council at Bengal and those of the Court of Directors, Mr Belcombe wisely employed in fortifying the



Citadel and putting the works into a State of defence which at that time they wanted. This delay afforded this favourable opportunity to the French, Yet Mr Rumbold and his Council had the Confidence to assert it was the ill judged attack of Chandernagore which had given the alarm. And this They asserted, notwithstanding there were Members of their Board who could have told them They had given the French Intelligence of an Attack in Order to secure their own Property then in the hands of the French, and notwithstanding They themselves had betrayed their own weak Councils by a wavering Conduct. They made vast Military Preparations. They actually encamped their Army without the Walls of Madras, all which was as well known at Pondicherry as at Fort [St] George. But They seemed to think with Lear in his Madness that They could steal this Army unobserved on a Vigilant Enemy, that was so watchful as to be alarmed at the remote attack of Chandernagore. Nay, They even went so far as to assert this Wild opinion.

When the Siege was ended, the Governor of Madras's Son was sent Home with dispatches full of the Praises of his Father Mr Rumbold's Wisdom and Spirit and General Munro's activity and Valour. Not a word of Mr Hastings and his Advice. No, this was with care concealed, lest He should participate the Honours and Encomium He was so justly entitled to. Their Prudence was amply rewarded. One was made a Baronet and the Other ■ Knight of the Bath ; whilst Mr Hastings had the Consolation to hear He was likely to be removed for an Incendiary in commencing a War without Authority. The Singularity of Mr Hastings' situation is as remarkable as his great Abilities ; And what is equally extraordinary, these very abilities seem to be the cause of it. In the instance just mentioned, He is threatened with disgrace

for a measure by which others acquire Honours that He merited. On other occasions his Plans have been arraigned and condemned and yet adhered to. [The Court of Directors attempted to dismiss him and yet when They have the power They reappoint him. The Parliament too have confirmed it after every former attempt to disgrace him had been encouraged. His Confidential Friends betrayed him into a Resignation which he never intended nor authorized. Mr Wheler succeeded to the Vacancy of Mr Monson, and it was hoped that as He was a moderate Man He would have joined in any conciliatory proposal, But on the contrary He entered immediately into opposition. Sir Eyre Coote very wisely and very prudently took a quite different part to what was generally expected. Mr Hastings it is true gave up every point that was likely to produce altercation, and convinced the General how much He wished for Unanimity. But it is to be feared that this Union is e'er now dissolved. For the General hath been misled in his judgement and taught to conceive certain Notions as injurious to Mr Hastings' Conduct as they are far from the truth. So that in short Mr Hastings hath found only One constant friend and lasting Connexion which will always redound to Mr Barwell's Honour and Stediness.]

But with every disadvantage that intestine division can occasion, a Government with every obstacle that opposition could raise, and with every Impediment that art or Malice could suggest, the Governor General hath raised larger Revenues, sent home larger Investments, paid a larger Army than any of his Predecessors. Amidst all the Confusion of a jarring Council, In spite of all the uneasiness and anxiety of an uncertain Government, He hath found more resources, opened more Channels of Trade, tried more Expedients, than any other Governour

—If He Has failed, He has failed for want of Support. His Experiments have not had a fair Trial. His Plans will yet be followed and no doubt Succeed. He hath shewn the Road to, and explored New Countries, He hath formed New Connexions ; He hath opened the Mine which others will work and which if He had been assisted in working would have already produced its riches. But they can only be procured by Unanimity abroad and Support at home. This the Company must effect or the Country will be of no use to Them.

[This memorandum, merely endorsed ' 1781 ', and written in a hand that does not seem to be Macpherson's own, is probably an example of his literary propaganda. He mentions in his letters communications made by him to the *Public Advertiser* ; and I guess this to be one of them. The reader will notice passages in it clearly founded on Hastings' own letters ; while the general style of the production, with its curt sentences and elaborate antitheses, seems modelled on the famous Letters of Junius. Though endorsed ' 1781 ' I think it probably belongs to an earlier year, 1777 or 1778.]

## XIV

CAPTAIN WILLIAM SANDS TO JOHN MACPHERSON

*Boglipore*

3 October 1781.

Sir,

I have the Honour to enclose a Letter from the Governor General to you which Mrs Hastings would have done herself had She not been prevented by Indisposition. She desires me to offer her best Compliments and to assure you it was with sincere and real pleasure She received the News of your safe Arrival in this Country ; and to tell you that She will take an early Opportunity by Letter of congratulating you on the Occasion. Permit

me now to offer my Congratulations and to assure you  
that I am very respectfully

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

WM SANDS.

John McPherson Esqr.

Mrs Hastings has this Moment received Letters from  
Mr Hastings dated at Benares the 29th ulto. All the  
Country again in perfect Tranquility. As Mr W. and  
You have no doubt Advices by the same Conveyance  
I need say no more.

W. S.

*Enclosure*

*Chunar*  
*22 September.*

My dear Friend,

I congratulate you heartily on your  
Arrival at Madrass, and I hope at Calcutta. I am  
extricating myself from a Scene of Troubles, of which I  
must refer you to Mr Wheler for the Detail, for I cannot  
yet trust the Road. I ventured in a gloomy Hour to  
promise him a fair issue of these Troubles. I now think  
they will terminate equally to Our Interest and Honour.  
I hope to see you in 2 Months. In the mean Time  
believe me ever the Friend, the warm Friend which I  
have ever professed myself, and which the proofs which  
you have given me of your Friendship require I ought  
to be. The Behavior of my Countrymen reflect more  
Honor on our Nation than any Instance of modern  
History. Just one Month ago I was with 400 Men sur-  
rounded by thousands. I have now *amici* that have  
assembled uncalled to my Assistance. Adieu my dear  
Friend. Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

Chunar 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. My Dear Friend. I congratulate you heartily on your Arr<sup>l</sup> at Madras, & I hope at Calcutta. I am extricating myself from a scene of troubles, of w<sup>ch</sup> I must refer you to Mr. Miller for a Detail, for I cannot yet trust of Road. I ventured in a gloomy Hour to promise him a few Spurs of these troubles. I now think I will terminate regularly to our Int<sup>l</sup> of Hon<sup>r</sup>. I hope to see you in 2 Mo<sup>s</sup>. In y<sup>r</sup> m<sup>o</sup>. Time belies me ever of Friend, & warm Friend so I have ever pro<sup>ved</sup>

posed myself, as which if proofs w<sup>ch</sup> you have given me of your Friend<sup>sh</sup> require I ought to have. — The Behaviour of my Countrymen reflects more Honor on our Nation & any Instance of modern Hist<sup>y</sup> that Mr. Ag<sup>o</sup> I was to see there sure? by them? I have now Amies & have ascribed much to my spirit? Adv<sup>ce</sup> my Dear Friend. V<sup>o</sup> most affect<sup>ly</sup> Warren Hastings.

[actual size]

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM WARREN HASTINGS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON



John Macpherson had sailed, early in 1781, to take up his new office as member of the Governor-General's Council. On his way out he spent several days at Madras, taking stock of the alarming situation that had developed there in consequence of Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic, and he had joined with Macartney, Coote, and Hughes in addressing a highly improper letter to the Maratha ministers at Poona, emphasising the desire of the English for peace. He then went on to Calcutta, to find Hastings just emerging from that near approach to disaster which had resulted from his decision to visit Benares in person and exact severe retribution from Chait Singh for his reluctance to aid the Company's disordered finances. Macpherson was greeted with a letter from Sands, Hastings' aide-de-camp, forwarding a little slip of paper  $5.3 \times .8$  inches, on which in the finest possible hand Hastings expressed his welcome of his friend to Bengal.

## XV

*Benares**30 September 1781.*

My dear Friend,

On the instant Receipt of your Arrival at Madrass, I wrote to you a Short Letter in Duplicate by a Conveyance at that Time very doubtful. Allow me again to congratulate you on your having accomplished thus much of your Voyage, and on your safe Arrival, which I have concluded in my own Mind, in Calcutta. Were I there myself no Man living would meet you there with a sincerer Joy ; but situated as I am, I feel a Regret at my own Absence which influences even the Satisfaction which I ought independently to have received from your Arrival. I cannot help it. I ought to be the first to take you by the Hand, the first to converse with you, and the first from whom you should receive your first Impressions and first Informations on the actual State of Affairs. I know how entire a Reliance I may repose on your Friendship : But that is

not sufficient. Your Understanding must join entirely in the Support which you afford me, or mine bend to your better Judgement. Neither Effect can happen while you are at Calcutta, and I at Benares.

I have imposed upon myself the absolute Necessity of remaining here till the Affairs and Government of this Country are entirely settled, and such a provision made for the permanency of our Authority over it as shall preclude the possibility of a renewal of the like Scenes as I have lately been a Witness to. I do not think this can be done by a Substitute, or by any Authority either less in Substance than my own, or any not exercised on the Spot : And I have made it the favourite Object of my Wishes.

How long this Work will detain me I cannot foresee. I came hither with other more distant Views, which are unaccomplished, and this Opportunity lost may not again occur. [By late Advices from Colonel Muir I learn that Mahdajee Sindia had shewn a Disposition for a separate peace which required only my Sanction and Instructions for its Conclusion, and those have been long since transmitted to Colonel Muir. I earnestly wish for this Event, as the certain Prelude to a Peace with the Maratta State ; and to accelerate the latter, as well as to fix Mahdajee Sindia in our Interests, I wish for a personal Interview with him. Indeed I shall not think the peace with him perfectly secure without it. I wait for Colonel Muir's next Advices to know what are Sindia's intended Movements after the final Conclusion of this Agreement, to assist in determining my own. If he can give me a Meeting at Furruckabad, I may think it advisable to go there, and it will give me an Opportunity to see the other Divisions and Stations of our Army, and to improve our other political Connexions in that Quarter.] But I feel also a strong Attraction toward Calcutta, and sometimes

incline to the Suggestion that I have been already too long absent from it. It will be from your and Mr Wheler's Communications that I shall be finally determined.

As to yourself, if you can shake off the Trammels of Office, and are willing to participate with me in the Troubles and Consequence attending that Department of the Government of which I have the present Charge, and you shall be at the same Time of Opinion that my longer Absence, or your own, will prove of no Inconvenience to the Affairs of our own provinces, I do most seriously propose it both as it will afford me the highest Satisfaction, and may be to you an entertaining, and not unprofitable Excursion. Let me beg of you to think of it, and let me know how you approve the proposition. Mr Wheler, I dare presume, will not object to it.

I have not Time to write to you the particulars of my proceedings here. You will find every Thing of Moment related in my public Letters to Mr Wheler. I have not been able to write private or long ones. (This Morning the new Rajah, Meyepnarain, was invested with much Solemnity. The Fortress of Bidjeygur still remains in the possession of Cheyt Sing, but I do not expect that it will make any Resistance, although the Rajah has left his Family within it. He himself is at Angoree, about 5 cose beyond it, almost unattended.)

I must add as an Inducement to you to accept my Invitation, that the Climate of this place in the approaching Season is reputed to be superior to any part of Europe, and even frosty. It ought to have some Advantage in the Change to compensate for the present Heats which are very uncomfortable. Chunar is a Paradise.

I am my dear Friend most  
affectionately and faithfully Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr Sullivan, the Son of our most respectable Friend, desires me to mention him to you as One who most joyfully interests himself in your Arrival in India.

Hastings was above all else anxious that the new councillor should not develop a policy of his own that might lead to future disputes in Council. 'I only lament', he writes to Major Scott, 'that I could not see him and furnish him with all my opinions and views, and receive his corrections of them, so as to be able to leave him with one common and uniform plan of measures mutually agreed on' (Gleig, ii. 427). But he was necessarily detained at Benares by the need of establishing the new prince (Chait Singh's nephew) and reducing Bijaigarh, which was still holding out, as well as by his hopes (which in the event were not realised) of a personal interview with Sindia. Hence his suggestion, which, however, Macpherson did not adopt, of the new councillor's joining him at Benares.

Mr. Sullivan, who adds his compliments to Hastings', was Stephen, son of Laurence, at this time with Hastings in the hopes of retrieving the family fortunes. 'I think he may be of the Supreme Council', his father wrote to Hastings, 6 June, 1781, 'if it be enlarged. But profit more than station must of necessity be our object. . . . By your affectionate friendship much more may be done for him out of council; and, too true it is, that much is wanted.' Later in the same year he was named to fill the first vacancy that might occur, but the change of Ministry in 1782 prevented the appointment from taking effect.

## XVI

Benares  
10 October 1781.

Dear Sir,

✓ I have received so many Proofs both public and private of the Worth of Colonel Blair, that I have desired him to accept of an Introduction to your Acquaintance from me, and shall give him this Letter for this Effect. In the Beginning of the troublesome and calamitous Scene in which I have been lately engaged I experienced the most active and ready Obedience to



every Order sent to him, even to the Reduction of the Strength of his Garrison to a Degree scarce equal to the Defence of it ; and as Zealous an Assistance in furnishing the Means for the subsequent Operations of the Field, although these were to be conducted by a junior officer independant of his Command. / I am personally indebted to him for the most hospitable and friendly Attention to me at Chunar ; and the Impressions made by these Acts have been confirmed into a solid Friendship in my part ; of which I cannot afford a more pointed Evidence than this Letter. I beg Leave on these Grounds to recommend him to your good Offices, and to as great a portion of your Friendship as you can bestow on a Man not, I believe, personally known to you.

I am my dear Sir

Your most affectionate  
and real Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

The officer recommended above to Macpherson's notice was Colonel William Blair, commandant of Chunar, to which fort Hastings had retired on the outbreak at Benares. A résumé of his services in India will be found in Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army*, i. 161. Hastings, in his *Narrative of the Insurrection at Banaris* (reprinted by Forrest, *Selections from the State papers of the Governors-General, Warren Hastings*, ii.), repeats and confirms this high appreciation of Blair's services. Cf. *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 157-159.

XVII

*Benares*

12 October 1781.

My dear Friend,

I have had the Pleasure to hear of your Arrival in Calcutta, but have not yet received any direct Advice of it, either public or private. I hope you



have received my Letters, especially my last, the purport of which I shall repeat, because I have it much at Heart. (The Settlement of this Province, both in Respect to its Revenue, and Government, and the Confirmation of the present Tranquillity, which a Breath might dissipate, notwithstanding the Appearances of its universal and permanent Establishment, requires my Continuance here, and will require it indispensably, till these Points are all effected.) Besides this, [if Peace is concluded with Mahdajee Sindia, of which I have great Hopes, it will be of infinite Service that I should have an Interview with him, and I am told that he too desires it : I would go for that purpose (were it so determined) as far as Illahabad, or Futtehgur. He will want a Support whenever a Peace is established with the Administration of Poona, and it is therefore probable that he will be glad to enter into nearer Ties with our Government. He has also offered to be the Mediator of an Accommodation with the superior Government of Poona. These are two points which it will not be so easy to accomplish by Delegation ; nor however I may be inclined to admit the Superiority of another Man's Abilities and Address, it is certain that no One can so truly accommodate his Judgement, under all the Contingencies of a desultory Negociation, to my own plans, and general Designs as I can myself.

A Meeting with Sindia will have another good Effect, at least I think so, by interesting his Inclination in the Observance of any Treaty which may have been concluded with him ; for paper Obligations have but little Force of themselves ; and I have seldom met with people yet in this part of the World so absolutely ruled by political Principles as not to yield occasionally to the Influence of personal Kindness or of personal Dislike ; and those Engagements have always proved the most

lasting that have been formed by the principals themselves in person.

My primary, and I may add, my sole Motive, since every other operated only as subservient to it, in making this distant Excursion, was *Peace*. A separate Peace concluded with Mahdajee Sindia will be a great leading Step to it, and his Assistance heartily given will complete it,—will in Effect command it : And I will venture to promise that if this End can be accomplished early, it will as surely draw after it a peace in the Carnatic : I do not mean a peace with Hyder, but his Retreat from the Carnatic, or his Destruction, if he stays.]

These are the Calls which I have to detain me for some Time yet to come in this Quarter of our World. But I have also others almost as strong to draw me to Calcutta. I want to communicate to you all my Views, and to confirm or amend them by your Judgement ; and it is necessary that some decisive and effective Assurance should be given to the World, that in the Addition which has been made to the Body of our Government the Power and Influence which I possessed before have been improved, instead of being impaired by it ; for you know that these Changes have not hitherto been propitious to my Authority. For these Reasons, and others which I have mentioned in a former Letter, I think it essentially and indispensably necessary either that I should return to Calcutta to see you, or you come to Benares, and associate yourself with me in what remains of my Labors in this Deputation. You will do infinitely more good with me than with Mr Wheler who does not want Assistance, and I dare say will have no Objection to your leaving him ; and you will have the pleasure of seeing more, the Benefit of knowing more, and the Credit of doing more, in One Month by such an Excursion, than you will by ■ Year's Residence in Calcutta. I have no

News. Adieu. Your sincerely and warmly affectionate  
Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S. I find that I have closed my Letter with the Omission of a very material part of the Subject of it. I have supposed a separate Peace likely to be concluded with Mahdajee Sindia, and grounded the Necessity of an Interview with him on that Supposition. But it is not improbable that the late Troubles in this Province may indispose him for a Time to a decided Agreement, and it is possible, though very unlikely, that the Treaty may fail altogether. In that Case my going to the Westward may be yet more necessary to provide other Means for prosecuting the Operations consequent of it with Facility and Effect. For this purpose I have detained the confidential Agent of Nedjif Cawn, and have lately dismissed a Person sent to me from the King, and have given both Expectations of a nearer Approach to them, whenever I can find a Release from other more urgent Business. This I add to shew that in every Case I conceive my longer Absence from Calcutta will be necessary, and my Desire to see you here equally strong. My principal Motive is as you see political, yet I beg you to believe that it is not purely so, and that if Mr Macpherson a private Gentleman had arrived at this Time in Calcutta, and I had no other Chance of seeing him, I should have with at least equal Earnestness have insisted on his giving me the pleasure of his Society. Once more, my dear Friend, let me assure you that I am faithfully yours

W. H.

✓ Though the present letter repeats the substance of No. XV., it is in several ways peculiarly characteristic of the writer, and illuminative of the conditions in which he had to work. It reveals his great (and indeed justified) confidence in his diplomatic skill; the value which he rightly set on personal

intercourse with Indian rulers ; and his anxiety lest his policy should be counteracted by rumours that the new arrival meant the reappearance of that opposition which had formerly crippled him, and the renewal of which would overthrow that system of alliances which he was labouring to establish. We should note too his attitude towards Hyder. He was to be forced from the Carnatic by pressure on his northern frontiers by the Marathas, and there was to be no peace condoning his onslaught on the Company. [And lastly we see how his inexhaustible fertility of expedient enables him to prepare for every contingency. If Sindia is reluctant to come to terms, then we will open relations with Delhi, which will make our friendship more valuable to Sindia's northern ambitions.]

## XVIII

*Benares*

15 October 1781.

My dear Friend,

I have employed an Hour this Morning most agreeably in the perusal of your Letters,, which though of remote Dates and long since dispatched from Calcutta have but lately come to my Hands. I read them with a Sensibility variously affected. An Admiration for the liberal, and I fear not more noble than uncommon Spirit which they breathe on Subjects on which I am certain that We shall ever have One Opinion, and a Warmth of Gratitude excited by the genuine Marks of Affection which they contain in almost every Line, were my predominant Feelings ; but these were mixed with a painful Impatience to talk over with you many points upon which I have too much to say to be written, and in which I am too much interested to suppress the least tittle of what I wish you to know : Yet even to this imperfect Communication I must have Recourse, until I can have the Happiness of seeing and conversing with you.



The first of Consequence with me is our Disputes with the Judges. In these I have conducted myself throughout with the most wary and studied Moderation, and always defensively. When I was attacked by them in my own single person, as I was on one or two Occasions most provokingly, I submitted without a *Defence* or *Reply*. When the Two Bodies were committed in decided Hostilities I proposed myself, I believe, every Measure of Resistance and the Mode of it; but opposed others that went beyond that Line into the Field of Retaliation. The Inhabitants had the Folly to address the Board on the Occasion of our Cossijura Disputes, and to halloo Us on to the Contest. I refused to give my Consent to the Address being sent home, or even entered on our Records, and I assigned such Reasons as made me for a Time very unpopular, while Mr Francis became on the Sudden a Favorite of the Town, but, some influenced by Shame and others from Policy, the Subscribers to the Petition desired to withdraw it, which was done accordingly.

The Contest concerning the Cossijura Rajah was managed with a Vehemence of which you will scarcely conceive an adequate Idea. The Judges proclaimed our part in it high Treason, threatened us with all the personal Consequences attendant on such a Crime, and threatened all our official Servants and Abettors with Attachments and Interrogatories: In short such Extremities were apprehended on their parts, as on ours must have drawn from Us Acts of the most dangerous Resistance, such as would have thrown our whole Constitution into Convulsions, or exposed our Government to Contempt and poverty if we had acquiesced. You may judge of the Influence which this Contention produced on our Minds when I tell you that to avoid the dreadful Consequences which would ensue on every Writ issued against our Servants charged with criminal Acts in the Execution of



our Orders I seriously, though not formally, proposed that in the Event of such Excesses We should abandon Calcutta and carry the Seat of Government to some other place which we could circumscribe by a Line of our own, and keep the Devil of the Law without it : And every other Member of the Board approved it.

Under these Apprehensions we wrote the petition to Parliament, not meaning to draw its Resentment on the Judges, but purely to solicit its Indemnity to Us for the Acts which We had done, and which We might be compelled to do, in the Discharge of our public Duty, but possibly against the strict Interpretation of Law ; nor do I believe that we went an Inch beyond that Intention.

I could mention Instances in which I have even palliated or checked little Evils in their growth by small Sacrifices of my private Fortune. In short wherever the Mischief could be stopped by lenient Measures, or by Submission, and the public Interests not suffer by our Forbearance, I have always recommended them ; nor is there a single Instance on our Records while I had the allowed Direction of Affairs of the least offensive Act of the Board passed against the Judges.

Our petition was drawn up in the hottest period of the Cossijura Affair, and would not wait the issue of it, because (as I recollect) the last Ship of the Season was on its Departure. The Consequences which We apprehended did not ensue.

Cossinaut withdrew both his Suit and Prosecutions. This too was my Act. The Judges went on for a little while on the feeble ground which this Defection left them of the Injury offered to their Authority, gradually cooling till at Length the Affair stopped, or seemed to vanish of itself, for I do not know what is become of it.

In all this Time the Dewanny Courts were totally suspended from their Functions, no Man daring to act

for Fear of Actions at Law, criminal prosecutions, and the disgraceful appearances before the Supreme Court in which I am sorry to say they were too often exposed to contumelious Language, and the worse Stings of Ridicule, even when they stood only in the Characters of Witnesses.

I saw the Credit of the Government sinking, and even its Revenue hurt by the Suppression of Justice, and this afforded the Supreme Court a plea for drawing all Matters within the Circle of its own Jurisdiction; although this Suspension arose from themselves.

I availed myself of the Calm which succeeded our last Storm, to propose a new Constitution and Distribution of our Dewanny Judicature, which appeared to me the most likely to give them the Energy and Confidence which the former had wanted, and to gain the Sanction of the Supreme Court to their proceedings instead of its Opposition and punishments. This was principally effected by putting the Chief Justice (not as such, but as the person assuredly the best qualified for it) at their Head, as the Judge of the Sedder Dewannee Adawlut. Mr Francis opposed it outrageously, Mr Wheler from Apprehension of its Consequences; the General suffered me to persuade him by violent Importunity, against his Inclination, to concur in it, and against the Counter-persuasion of some who have since acknowledged their Error, and it happily passed. Since that Time Justice has been administered after a Licentiousness of almost Seven whole Years, and the most perfect peace and Harmony have taken place and subsisted between the Board and the Court.

In all my private Letters I have abstained from even the slightest Expression which might injure the personal Characters of the Judges, and except those temporary Resentments which always glow the warmest in Minds influenced by the recent Sense of ill requited Affection,

I can safely say that my Friendship for Sir Elijah never suffered the least Diminution from our public separation. I have always loved him in my Heart, and have always publicly shewn and acknowledged the Respect that was due to his personal Virtues and Abilities whenever a decent Occasion was allowed me, I mean an Occasion in which such acknowledgements were not liable to the Imputation of an unworthy Submission.

This is the State of my Warfare with the Judges. It is strictly impartial. Do not tell me whether you see any Thing to condemn in it, because I am impracticable against all Conviction of the Impropriety of any one Part of my Conduct.

[As to Sir Eyre Coote and Mr Francis, I shall say little. I acted with the strictest Honor to Mr Francis even so far as to throw myself upon his Mercy by parting with Barwell. I bore his repeated Breaches of Treaty, and I bore his Insolences (I can not immediately find a softer Term for them) as long as I could do it without public and dangerous Consequences. For the rest I appeal to the Minutes on Record. Sir E. Coote quarrelled with me : I made no Return. He became when We met my fast Friend, and has broke out into violent Invectives against me since, and upon my Honor I know not for what Cause ; but this I know that it is absolutely impossible for him to be upon Terms of peace with any Man living who possesses a Power either superior or equal to his own, unless the latter is forever at his Elbow, and coaxing him into good Humor. If you doubt this, try him, and you will be convinced.]

Bristow is an Object too mean for public Attention. His Abilities are contemptible, his political principles mean and centred in himself, and his presumption and Insolence insupportable. I offered him any Concession to yield his Claims and not to force his patron into a new

Assault upon my Authority, when we had been but newly reconciled, and the public Interests would be endangered by the Renewal of our Disagreements. I am assured that both Mr Francis and Mr Wheler urged him with the same Solicitations and the same Arguments, but without Effect. It became a Question of Litigation whether I should retain the powers of my Station, or Mr Bristow be my Representative in the first Court of India. I had not a Choice.

Fowke is, or ought to be, thankful for my Treatment of him, and even the old Gentleman is in his Heart satisfied. I am sure he is.

Forgive this long Letter, and accept it as an Evidence of my Solitude to retain that good Opinion which you have hitherto entertained of my Conduct.

I am ever my dear Friend  
most affectionately and faithfully  
Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

Hastings now turns from foreign policy to expound the vexed domestic situation. He deals first with the troubles which had arisen with the Supreme Court, which claimed the right of citing before itself Company's servants appointed to the courts which Hastings had established for the administration of justice outside Calcutta (the 'Dewanny Courts') for sentences delivered in their judicial capacity, as well as zemindars for severity in collecting the land revenue of the provinces. Previous references to these troubles occur in Nos. IV. and XII. A full narrative of the troubles, not unfair except in the ascription of motive, will be found in *Mill*, Bk. v. chap. vi. In the Kasijora case, in which Kasinath, the agent of the Rajah of Kasijora, brought a suit against his employer, the Council directed the emissaries of the court to be opposed by military force. The circumstances under which was prepared the petition from the inhabitants of Calcutta will be found described in Hickey's *Memoirs*, ii. 182, etc. Impey was recalled for accepting the (salaried) control of the Company's courts; but it is now generally agreed that the



solution devised by Hastings was wise and beneficent, and should have been maintained.

Bristow was the favourite of Clavering, bequeathed by him to Francis. One of Hastings' first acts, on recovering power by Monson's death, had been to recall him from his post as Resident with the Nawab of Oudh. Bristow had then gone home to solicit orders for his reinstatement, in which he had succeeded, and returned with a warm letter from Macpherson, dated 11 June, 1779, urging that no obstruction should be placed in the way of his succession. 'This I request from my real regard for him and attachment to you.' A man of the same name, and, I conjecture, a relation, assisted Macpherson and Benfield in the Cricklade election of 1780. However, on arriving in India, Bristow found that the suspension of the orders for his restoration had been an article in the treaty between Hastings and Francis (Gleig, ii. 252, and *Parkes and Merivale*, ii. 185). It appears from Francis' journal (*op. cit.* ii. 189) that Bristow had demanded the execution of the Company's orders in very unbecoming terms.

## XIX

## JOHN BELLI TO JOHN MACPHERSON

*Benares*

18 October 1781.

My dear Sir,

I arrived at Benares Yesterday and had the Pleasure to find your Favor of the 6th Instant: I need not tell you that it made me very happy, as it would be indeed extraordinary could such unaffected Kindness and Openness have failed in contributing most heartily to my Satisfaction. I had the happiness of finding Mr Hastings well and in good Spirits the latter of which were not a trifle increased on the score of your safe Arrival, and the hope which he tells he has of seeing you soon here, for that he has written two or three pressing Invitations to you to visit this part of the Country; and I am convinced it will contribute to your mutual Satisfaction



if it should fortunately suit your Convenience to comply with his request. As I left Mrs Hastings at Boglipore, I had not an Opportunity of presenting her with your Salam as you have directed me, but I have written to her the information of the friendly and hearty Manner in which you have accepted her Attention, and have told her you have written both to Mr Hastings and Herself, and that this I was to make known to her with your best Compliments, which I am sorry I could not present in person. You will find Mrs H, Sr E. I. and Lady Impey, and the whole Boglipore Party here, and will I am sure contribute greatly to the Satisfaction of all if you make one among them ; as to myself I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you, I fancy, till my arrival in Calcutta, as I am going as high up as Lucknow, and upon a most pleasing Errand to myself, to take the Hand of a Lady I am devoted to for Life, and who, I can assure you is as good a Girl as ever lived.

I have now only left to return you my heartiest Thanks for so polite and handsome a Proof of the continuation of your Confidence and Regard, as you have manifested in the Letter I am answering, and to assure you that as I value both the one and the other greatly, you shall ever find me

My dear Sir, most unfeignedly  
Your affectionate and  
faithful humble Servant

JOHN BELLI.

Captain Dance and I are already as intimate as if we had been acquainted for Years ; I do not think he has the advantage of me by a *Foot*. Mr Sullivan is gone to Chuprah, on a visit to his Lady.

John Belli, writer of the above, was Hastings' private secretary, and had followed him up to Bengal from Madras, where he had met both his patron and Macpherson. He and

Macpherson were on very friendly terms, and the latter's letters to Hastings often include jocular messages to or about him (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 213). He was, it seems, short of stature—'Little Belli' is his common epithet—hence doubtless his reference to Captain Dance *not* having a foot's advantage of him.

For the Bhagalpur (or Boglipore) party, see *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 144 and 149.

## XX

Benares.

25 October 1781.

My dear Friend,

I shall set off this Evening on a short Excursion to meet Mrs Hastings and Sir E. Impey and his Family. I shall take with me your Two Letters which have been lying before me some Days, but which I have been prevented by continual Interruption from answering. I shall carry them with me but am not certain that I shall find much Leisure for writing: but I apprise you of my Situation that you may know that I have received your Letters and that I mean to write fully upon all the Subjects of them, though you may be disappointed of an instant Reply. (Bidjeygur is as it was, Major Popham negociating out of Tenderness for the Women, who have presumed upon it to exact most unreasonable Terms. I have desired him to proceed to Extremities. If they suffer by it, it is their own Fault.) You will know that Peace is concluded with Mahdajee Sindia. I have no Advice of it from Colonel Muir; but not to lose Time I have written to both apprising them of my Intention to send Mr David Anderson to Sindia as soon as I receive the expected Information of the Treaty from Colonel Muir. My Wish is to follow him, if Sindia will give me a Meeting. I think he will be as desirous of it. God grant it!]

I have announced our late Victory to all Mankind.

I hope it will not be contradicted ; but I do not quite like the Story of 6000 Men taken prisoners in a plain, and the Guns running away.

I have been obliged to wait till this Time for the Accounts of the Collections to settle the Jemma or annual Rent to be paid by the Rajah. I am furnished with them at last now while I am writing. The rest will be the Work of an Hour. I shall leave them in the Hands of Mr Anderson to translate and prepare them against my Return.

I am my dear Friend,  
Most affectionately Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mrs. Hastings, last mentioned as at Bhagalpur, was, now that the Benares affair had settled down, about to join her husband (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 163).

Hardly any of Macpherson's letters to Hastings written after his return to India in 1781 seem to have been preserved.

✓ [Colonel Muir concluded a separate treaty with Sindia on 13 October : his report will be found in Forrest's *Selections from the State-papers . . . in the Foreign Department*, iii. 814. Sindia agreed to negotiate a further treaty between the Company and the Peshwa, and for this purpose Hastings decided to send David Anderson, whose immediate instructions, dated 4 November, will be found in Forrest, *op. cit.* iii. 822.]

'Our late victory' was, I suppose, Coote's rather barren success at Sholinghur on 27 September. Hastings was right in suspecting the accuracy of the reports which had reached him.

The *jama* or rent to be paid by the zemindari of Benares was raised from 22 to 40 lakhs of rupees.

XXI

*Benares*

1 November 1781.

My dear Friend,

If my Letter to you of the 12th gave Pain to your Mind, mine, I am sure, suffered much

greater from yours written in Acknowledgement of it. You must forgive me if I say that your Letter is not a Reply to mine, nor warranted by any Thing contained in it. All that I wrote to you, except what regarded you personally, amounted singly to this : [ ' That I ' came hither with no other Object than *Peace* ; that I should regard a separate Peace concluded with Sindia as the leading Step, and a certain One, to a peace with the Maratta State ; that I wished to see him, and confer with him in person, because I knew that his Interest would lead him to a nearer Connection with Us, and that I could make him the Instrument of peace. All this I wrote under the Conviction of a Treaty having been actually concluded : Yet the contrary was possible, and therefore ought to be taken into the Account, namely that Sindia might have been induced by the Revolt of this and the neighboring Provinces to break off the Negotiation, and refuse to make peace with Us ; and in that Case my personal Influence might be successfully exerted in combining new Enemies against him. ' ]

To this you reply with the Expression of Sorrow and Despair excited by the Supposition of a Determination on my part to enter on new Wars, and to abandon the Search of peace : And you repeat the Word *Peace* with an Emphasis, which implies your Distrust of my Intention to promote it, and you accompany it with a Sentiment which if avowed and applied will most assuredly frustrate its immediate and sole purpose. In the first place let me conjure you to believe, and I call God to witness my Truth, that I seek for nothing but Peace as the End and Design of all my Pursuits, and if I may trust to my own composed and temperate Examination of my own Measures, I am in the direct Line to obtain it.

The Maratta State exists by the Power and Abilities of Mahdajee Sindia, and by gaining him I expect the



rest to follow as a Consequence of inevitable Necessity. I suppose him likely to coincide with our Views, if We employ him as our Instrument and Mediator, and therefore I suppose that he will gladly undertake that Office. The accumulated Weakness of the Maratta State, the Loss of its Resources, the Imbecility of its Rulers, and the Separation of their great Support, I mean Mahdajee Sindia, must compell them to submit to Peace, unless the Dread of falling again under the Ascendant of that Chief should induce Nanna Furneess to the most desperate Extremities to avoid it; which I think not so likely.

In a Word if you would employ effectual Means for obtaining Peace, you must seek them in the Terrors of a continued War, and in the Incitement of some greater Advantage to be derived from its Conclusion.

If you expect to obtain it by Concession and Entreaty, and to these add a Forbearance of Resistance while they persist in Hostility you will be disappointed. ✱ Your Addresses to the Peshwa are too much in this Spirit, and you will be convinced of it not only by the Answers written to them, but by all the future Letters, in which you will have everlasting Repetitions of the Commands of the King and Company; of the past Disobedience of those Orders; of the Indignation felt at the Infraction of the wise and pacific Maxims which dictated them; of the War begun and carried on by the designing Conduct of Individuals; and of the just Satisfaction which shall be given to the Peshwa in a sincere and irrevocable Treaty; with the precaution taken to conclude it under the Sanction of the King, the Parliament, and the Company, and the British Nation, too, strongly implying and expressed by the Context that without such a Sanction the Sirdars, or Servants of the Company would alter or infringe it.

Were it true that the present War with the Marattas



was begun by a Breach of Treaty on our part, which I cannot admit, it is not necessary to avow it, and the Confession in the Language of India is an Acknowledgement of Weakness and an Entreaty for Forgiveness; and in what a Light does it hold out to the public View the Conduct of the former Representatives of the British Nation with your Friend at their Head, all running Riot with the Demons of Rapine, Licentiousness, and Infidelity at their Heels, and the Voice of their King and Nation hallooing them back to their Duty!

As to myself I can lay my Hand to my Heart, and can declare, as I would at the Altar of God, that in all my Dealings with public States and provinces I have ever observed the principles of Truth and good Faith as sacredly as I would, and as I have ever observed them with Individuals: The War with the Marattas was not my War; but begun without my Knowledge, and with a Design adverse to my Government; I have only supported it, and in the most vigorous prosecution of it have aimed at peace, and contributed more effectually to the Attainment of it than I could possibly have done either by the most unbounded, or the most guarded Submissions. I quote the peace made with Mahdajee Sindia for an Example, and for a Demonstration of the Justness of my Mode of Acting.

Had not the War been carried, and even under all the Oppositions of Mr Francis, and the Errors of Colonel Camac, into his own Country, neither would Goddard have conquered Basseen nor the Presidency of Bombay drawn a Rupee from the Revenues of Gujerat; nor would you now have a prospect of Peace with the Maratta State, with a feeble and unequal War scarcely sustained by the unsupported Members of its actual Administration.]

You will be surprised perhaps at the Warmth of my Arguments, and at the Impatience, if any such shall

appear, in the Style of them. The truth is, that my Feelings have been rubbed upon this Subject till they are too sore for even a slight Touch, even from a Hand as gentle as yours. If the Expressions of your Letter are brought from England, I must lament that the Suggestions of Francis have prevailed, and become the Voice of the people. If you brought your Opinions unformed, I must quarrel with Mr Sullivan, as much as I love and reverence him, for withholding from you any part of my Communications, which he was enjoined to shew to you and my Friend Mr Pechell, before he allowed any other to see them : for at Madras it is the Mode universally, and has been since the Beginning of Sir T. Rumbold's reign, to ascribe to me the Maratta War, even the War with Hyder, and a fixed Aversion to peace. By loading my Administration with Aspersions they draw off the Attention of those who believe them from their Actions to view mine through the black Medium of their Representations. In Calcutta these Suggestions are confined to One Sett of Men, and to such only as come with free Admittance to the House of Mr McKenzie. I will tell you who They are, because it is possible that you may not come by any other Means to the Knowledge of them, although from a principle of Delicacy I have hitherto chosen to leave the Discovery to your own Enquiries. They are Mr McKenzie, Mr John Murray, and Mr Livius—(God help me, I am ashamed of such an Enemy). To these I must add Colonel Watson and Chs. Morgan : I would wish to except Mr Ducarell, whom I have labored to make my Friend. You will know of Certainty whether he is or not. I will not burthen you with a Catalogue of my Friends. At the Head of these I must place Mr Wheler, notwithstanding his former Opposition and Connections, and the actual existence of the latter. The only name which I shall add to his is that of Charles

Croftes, a Man not likely to obtrude himself on your Acquaintance, but worthy of it, not only on the Score of an unimpeached Honor, and a deeper and more extensive Knowledge of Affairs than you will expect if you judge of him from his jovial Exterior, or his deaf Attention ; but for a Quality which I am certain will bear the Credit of a Virtue with you, a warm and disinterested Attachment to me. If he has been less assiduous in his Attentions to you, of which upon my Honor I have no Knowledge or Intimation, impute it to some foreign Cause in which his respect for your person has no Concern, for I know that he has the highest for your Character. ✓

I must recur, but with a Word, to the general Subject of this Letter. I am determined to bring about a Peace ; but I must use for this End the Weapons which I can trust, which I can manage, and which I have hitherto practiced. I will throw away the Sword before those who appear unarmed before Us : I will keep it sheathed in the Presence of those who are yet undecided ; and I will hold it with the Alternative of peace or Destruction to those who are armed against Us with Threats of the latter, and rejection of the former. This is not a Time to temporize. If my Superiors, and the whole people of England in a Body join in proscribing this System of policy, and in exclaiming, ' Peace, Peace, Peace ! ' with a Host of Enemies assailing Us, I must either persist in my own Line, and you and Mr Wheler must unite with me in it ; or I must yield up my place, and trust to that providence or Fortune which has hitherto wrought Miracles for our Deliverance, for our future Salvation.

The Orders which you have written to General Goddard are wise, and even indispensable. The Powers which you have given to me are great, and I shall employ them with a Zeal equal to the Thankfulness with which

I have received them. Mr Anderson leaves me tomorrow, and I hope to follow him in less than a Month.

I am now concluding the Settlement of this province, and hope to be able to address the Board upon it to morrow with Advice of the final Execution of it.

I will write by this Conveyance to Mr Wheler in Favor of Major McPherson. I claim the Credit of having first suggested this Appointment to Major McPherson himself, but if the Vacancy depends upon Colonel Morgan's Appointment to the Second Command of General Goddard's Detachment I am afraid We shall be disappointed.

I beg your Excuse for this long Letter, and your candid Attention to it. I propose it as the Test of your Friendship. If you possess unchanged that gentle and benevolent Spirit which formed an essential part of your Character when you and I were personally acquainted, your good Sense which Nature designed to lead, not to follow the Opinion of Mankind, will induce you to read what I have written with Approbation, and with Acknowledgement. If you have formed a decided Opinion against that which I have avowed, or if you pervert my Endeavors to guard your Judgement against Deception into — but it is ungenerous to suppose it. You are what you have ever been, equally my Friend, and assured that I am most unchangeably and unalterably Yours : Therefore I shall say no more. I shall answer your former Letters in a separate One. Adieu my valuable Friend. I am ever most truly Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

[This long and eloquent letter illustrates, as few others do so amply, the quality of mind that made Hastings pre-eminently great. I have already mentioned that Macpherson, when passing through Madras, took occasion with Macartney, Coote and Hughes to address a letter to Poona expressing the desire for peace felt by the Company and declared ' by the.



orders just arrived not only from the Company but also from the King ' (Letter to the Government at Poona, 11 September, 1781, *ap. Madras Mil. Cons.*, 30 January, 1782, p. 243).

Macpherson's letter, to which Hastings is replying, would seem to have communicated and defended this foolish, ill-judged, and unauthorised action, and, probably by implication, to have criticised Hastings' policy in pursuit of peace. But, Hastings rejoins with unanswerable truth, the way to obtain peace is not to ask for it, but to make it obviously worth while to the other party. Hastings indeed had no patience with men lightly moved to exult or to despair. He never despaired. He placed a well-founded confidence in himself and in the power which he controlled (if only he were suffered to control it) to redeem the disasters into which the Company had been plunged by the errors of others. Hence the present outburst, intended to induce Macpherson to support the policy which he had laid down.]

## XXII

*Benares*

12 December 1781.

My dear Friend,

My Heart is too much warmed with a recent Subject to admit of my beginning on any other till that is dispatched. A few Minutes have passed since I received the Board's Report of the 3rd. The Style too strongly marks the Writer for me to miss him, and I most thankfully acknowledge your Kindness to me in it. To the cold Language of general Applause and official Approbation, I am no Stranger; but to discriminate the parts of a public Measure which merit their peculiar praise, and to select even those Circumstances which with a Sacrifice of present and pecuniary Advantage aim at the more liberal and refined Objects of extending the national Reputation in points independent of their immediate Interests, or political Influence, and of conciliating a Great People to a Dominion which they see



with Envy, and bear with Reluctance, are Encomiums which a Mind which, as mine does, vibrates at every Touch of public Opinion, must receive as the highest Reward it is capable of feeling. Again, my valued Friend, accept my Thanks. I owe much to Mr Wheeler for his Share of this Gift, for he was angry when he joined in it : And to this Subject I must now recur.

I am affraid I was to blame in not giving him earlier Information of the Arrangement made with the Nabob Vizier ; but I could not give the full Explanation of them in the Interruption of my other Calls, and I waited for an Hour of Leisure and Quiet. Yet I apprised him that I had much to communicate to him on that Subject, and entreated him to guard his Mind against Improper Suggestions from others until he heard from me. I wrote to him a Letter upon that Subject alone ; but instead of an Hour, it employed me by snatched Intervals during the Course of some Days. I wish you could see the Letter, because it contains all that I could say on that Subject. I know that his Friends have been very free, and One gross, in their Abuse of me : yet I have dealt (God forgive me) with them much more tenderly than with my own, and they have no Cause to complain. I myself am distressed beyond Measure. Lucnow was a Sink of Iniquity. It was the School of Rapacity. What will you say of beardless Boys rejecting with Indignation the offer of monthly Gratuities of 3000 and 5000 Rupees ? What will you think of Clerks in Office clamoring for principalities, threatening those who hesitated to gratify their Wants with the Vengeance of Patronage, and in the Confidence of exhaustless Resources gambling away Two Lacks of Rupees at a Sitting, and grumbling that their Merits were not attended to ? What will you think of Men receiving the Wages of Service from the Nabob, and disclaiming his Right to command it ; and what of a

City filled with as many independant and absolute Sovereignities as there are Englishmen in it?

Such is the true portrait of what Lucnow was. I was resolved to reform it. The Nabob demanded it, and with what Face could I refuse it? I made no Distinctions for my own Friends. Hannay was particularly mine. His recall was abrupt, and peculiarly marked with the Hardship of its being done at the point in which he was surrounded by Multitudes, and in Danger of instant Death. Colonel Gall is a Member of my own Family, cut off from all his Hopes, and if I do not prevent it, a ruined Man with a Wife, an amiable One, and an annual Brood of Children to aggravate the Miseries of actual want added to blasted Expectations. He is the only real Sufferer. The rest are all either Men of Wealth, or in easy Circumstances. Amongst these is Captain Mordaunt, who had a princely Fortune yesterday; God knows what to Day. He is not in the Service, therefore absolutely adrift, and particularly recommended to me by Mr Barwell.

All reproach me, but profess to me a Conviction of the Necessity which operated on My Mind for their Removal. I foresaw the Consequences but I saw no Alternative but public Ruin and Infamy on one Side, and the Rancor and Vengeance of Individuals on the other. I could not consult Mr Wheler. I had no Communication with him, and I trusted that while I shewed a greater Attention to his Dependants than to my own I should obtain his final Approval of what I did, in Defiance of secret Insinuations. And so I will, for I know he is too just and too generous to resent without Cause when he knows that there is none. I find that he has been told that his Friends only have been the Sufferers by this Measure.

My Friend, you will lament my Condition, and

conceive the Regrets that prey upon my Mind when I tell you, that all the Fruits of my Kindness which my first Friend Elliot whom I loved as a Child derived from it were the Distinction of a public Deputation in which he lost his Life. My affectionate and laborious Assistant Boyle wanted the Necessaries of Life till I gave him an Office which separated him from me ; and Belli my faithful and most worthy Companion is now only not in Debt, except it be to his young Wife. My Secretary Palmer is precisely in the same Case, and I have others within my daily View, who equally demand my Care of them, but whose Days languish in fruitless Expectations to them, and daily Mortification to me. Yet I am neither ungrateful nor unjust.

With respect to the Deficiencies of my private Correspondence, you cannot conceive the Cause of it, unless you are placed in my Situation. All I can say to the Charge is that the indispensable Calls of every Hour fill and overflow it. I allow no Man, even those who have the first Claims of Intimacy and Consequence, to intrude on my Hours of Business with private and inefficient Conversation, and at the Close of every Day I sit down oppressed with the Labor of it, and mourning the Weight of Arrears accumulating for the ensuing Day. I want Assistance, and yet I have had, and have the most able ; I have not even Hands to copy ; and the Work of a Day often lies on Hand a week before I can dispatch it. Besides from the Originality of the Business in which I am employed I am obliged to do Nine tenths of it with my own Hand, if it is to be written, and in person if verbal, especially since Anderson has left me.

My Narrative which I promised the Board in an evil Hour to compile for their Information, composes a Volume of 34 Sheets in the fair Copy. The Appendix and Affidavits will fill at least One hundred more. The

first have engrossed Hours of my Time in selecting and rejecting, and the last in Instructions to those who were to seek and question the Informants.

Yet I do not regret my lost Time and Labor, and I think you will like the Work itself, which hasty, [as] it is will be intelligible to the veriest Old woman in England that shall have an Inclination to read it.

So much for Apology. Now for another Subject of some Concern to me.

The Board seem not to have sufficiently understood my recommendation of Brevets. If they gave effective Rank they would be unjust, nor would I propose them. My Definition of a Brevet is this. A Brevet is a titular Rank granted to an Officer either for the purpose of investing him with the Respect and Authority required by an elevated and important Command, or for the Recompense of meritorious Service ; operating but for a Time, and without essential prejudice to the Rights of Seniority, which are to take effect whenever the officers possessing them rise to the same ranks ; and which are precluded from intermediate Effect by the Care of the Government interposing to prevent their meeting in the same Line of actual Service.

If Brevets are Supercessions, and injurious, why and on what Occasions are they allowed in any Service ? Their very Name is technical, and is alone a proof that they are authorised by universal practice, for it is the same in every Language.

My Appointment of Major Lane by my own Authority was an Act of Necessity, independently of the instant Occasion. I had no Communication with the Board, and to have waited for it would have defeated its purpose, which was to reward distinguished Merit by an Honour conferred at the Instant of its Existence. I had a general Power for such a purpose, and I think that the first and



executive Instrument of the Government should carry such a power with him whenever he went to a Distance from the other Members of the Administration, though he should be sparing in the Use of it. / The Rewards of Honor evaporate and grow flat if the Claims to them lie too long open for their reception.

(At the Time that I recommended Major Popham I will frankly own I did not expect that he would reap any other Benefit from his Command; for Cheyt Sing had carried off in their Money Thirty Lacks, and the Garrison of Bidjeygur had had Time, and possessed the Means of secreting all the remainder. I am less solicitous on this point than I was, but have not acquitted myself of the Duty which my Sense of his Worth and Services has imposed on me. I most heartily thank you for the Expedient which you have proposed, and if you and Mr Wheler cannot both reconcile it to your private Judgements to grant him the Reward which I recommended, I entreat that you will recommend him in the Manner which you have proposed to the King for a Commission in his Service, and declare it in public Orders. Indeed this is far superior to a temporary and invidious Commission of Lt. Colonel. I shall be satisfied with this, and thankful for it. Let Blair have his Feather. He is a worthy Man, and it will be a Disappointment as grievous to me as to him, if he has it not: And it will be but an Act of a few Days Duration. But the Honor of having deserved it will be lasting. Besides he has exerted himself more, and with more Zeal, for the late Service than Half of the young Captors of Bidjeygur, and will probably be excluded wholly from a Share in the plunder of it.

I am going to look at this stupendous Fortress, in the Hopes that I shall find it not worth keeping. It will be a Journey of four Days, including my Return. /

I am writing to Mr Wheler. Do not communicate the



Contents of this to him till he has received mine. Many parts of it are for your own Breast only.

And do you, my kind Friend, bear with my Neglect and Inattentions, if you see any, till I convince you that they are neither Neglects nor Inattentions, and that to you of all Men living I am the least susceptible of them.

I am my dear Friend,

Yours ever most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

*P.S.*—I beg that the bulk of this letter may not affright you, and that you will have the patience to read it.

'The Board's report of the 3rd' will be found in Forrest, *op. cit.* iii. 819. It deals with Hastings' settlement at Benares. The pecuniary advantages sacrificed consisted in not raising the revenue demand over 40 lakhs.

For Hastings' reforms in Oudh at this time, and his attitude towards the adventurers who flocked to that unhappy court, the reader may refer to Hastings' letter to Scott of 20 January, 1782 (Gleig, ii. 458).

XXIII

*Benares*

25 December 1781.

My dear Friend,

On the 12th of last Month I sent some Horses to Calcutta. Among them was One destined for your Use, and I directed Mr Angelo, if he approved of him, to offer him to you for your Acceptance. I now request your Acceptance of him on the same Condition. I have tried him Twice upon the Road, and in the Bustle of a large Company. He appeared to me to [be] easy, gentle, and perfectly sound. He is but four Years old, as meek as a Lamb, and as big as a small Elephant. This last Quality I am told is indispensably necessary

to carry your Weight. Untaught as he is I like him extremely, and if with the Improvement of Mr Angelo's School you like him, I shall rejoice that I have been more fortunate for you than I have been for myself; for though all the World knows that I love good Horses *à la Follée*, yet they give me none but pampered garrons, that I cannot ride, nor with a clear Conscience give to others.

I most heartily wish you all the Joy which this Day owes you, and am most affectionately, my dear Friend,

Yours

WARREN HASTINGS.

For Hastings' love of good horse flesh cf. *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 105, 264. Angelo seems to have been the principal horse-dealer and horse-breaker of Calcutta.

XXIV

*Benares*

31 December 1781.

My dear Sir,

I give Mr Law this Introduction to you. It is unsolicited. He is a young Man of good Understanding, and of Integrity. I firmly believe at least that he possesses the latter. He holds an Office which he wishes to exchange for another, and I should be glad if without Embarrassment to you and Mr Wheler he could be gratified. You will oblige me by taking Notice of him. I think you will find him Deserving.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful  
Servant

WARREN HASTINGS.

## XXV

*Mongeer*

24 January 1782.

My dear Friend,

I have written to Croftes to meet me at Sooksaugur. I have expressed a Wish to the same Effect to Mr Wheler; and to you, my most valued Friend, I do make it my most earnest Request that you will allow me the pleasure of seeing you there. A Month will not suffice for all that I have to say to you, and hear from you; and in Calcutta I can command only broken Time. Permit me to add in the Fulness of my Heart that I have not a Wish beyond the Accomplishment of my Journey equal to a Thousandth part of that which I feel to meet you. You have won the Affections of all my Friends, and how can I deny the fullest Measure of mine?

I am here struggling with a foul Wind which in the next Reach is the favorit in the Heavens: but I shall certainly be at Sooksaugur on the 1st of February.

Adieu my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

Hastings and his wife were now on their way down the river to Calcutta. Suksagar, above Chinsura, was a favourite resort of Hastings, and he built a house there. /

## XXVI

*Baugalpoor*

27 January 1782.

My dear Friend,

I have received yours. I have complied with the Spirit of it, and burnt the Two last Sheets of it. The rest I keep, because I must read them again

H

on the Way, and they contain nothing that the Clerk of the I[ndia] Ho[use] might not read to a general Court. You have made me happy by it beyond Expression ; but I reserve my Answer for our meeting, which will be within a few Hours of this. Keep the Nancy and pilot vessel till I arrive.

[Anderson arrived in Sindia's Camp on the 8th and was received with every public Demonstration of Joy and Cordialty. Public Demonstrations on Matters of this Nature are equal proofs of private Sincerity.] Middleton writes that the Begum had agreed to surrender her Treasures (*i.e.* her late husband's) and her Two Eunuchs who alone know where they are concealed as pledges for their Delivery. She and they are permitted to re-enter the Kella for that purpose.

Thus far the prospect clears ; but I have yet Doubts.

I shall be at Sooksaugur according to my original plan on the Morning of the 1st and it will require some Contrivance not to be there too early.

I am my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

Even the earlier sheets of Macpherson's letter that Hastings is answering seem to have disappeared.

The Begum is of course the mother of Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, who with her confidential eunuchs had been imprisoned. The kella (or 'qilla') was the fortress or rather palace of Faizabad. Cf. Middleton's letter of 13 January (Forrest, *op. cit.* iii. 837).

## XXVII

My dear Friend,

If you are now at Leisure Major Palmer will introduce Contoo to you this Morning. It is proper to apprise you of the Figure and Character of the



Dear Sir

I have heard with pleasure  
yesterday evening from Major Dwy, that  
you have at last resolved to take to  
smoking a Hogg: he mentioned at the  
same time, that you requested him to  
tell me, that you wished to take my  
Hoggabander in your service. - I need  
not tell you, how happy I am in  
making this Man over to you; not  
only as he will get a good Master,  
but it will save me every Month 18  
P<sup>as</sup> Nypers, which you know is a Capital  
Sum

Sum for a Bura Bibby of Bengall;  
however to show you, that I am not  
ungrateful to your services, I send  
you a Hogg, with all that is requisite  
to do it. Shall I tell <sup>you</sup> how happy you  
will make me by the Acceptance of  
it? or will you take my Word for  
it? as it is a very hot Day, and the  
first of April, which, possibly you  
do not know.

Y<sup>rs</sup> soon  
Monday Morn.

Ever Dear Sir  
Y<sup>r</sup> ob<sup>l</sup>g<sup>d</sup> & aff<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
Maria Hastings

[scale 0.425]

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MRS. HASTINGS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

Man, at least as he ought to be from the Superior Weight of Evidence. He is very tall, meagre, and bony, the natural Appearance of Famine ; with Whiskers like a Saracen's, the Teeth of a Shark, and Claws of a Tiger : His Countenance fierce and his Manners haughty and assuming. The rest of his Character will shew itself in a Minute's Conversation.

Yours most truly,

W. H.

Endorsed : 'Joular Note from Mr. Hastings about Cantoo Baboo, March '82.' Cantoo is of course Hastings' *diwan* or man of business. 'Joular' I take to be a contraction of Jocular, in reference to Hastings' ironical description of his famous servant.

#### XXVIII

MRS HASTINGS TO JOHN MACPHERSON

*Allipoor*  
*Monday Morn.*

Dear Sir,

I have heart with Pleasure Yesterday Evening from Major Davy, that you have at last resolved to take to Smoking a Hooga : he mentioned at the same Time, that you requested him to tell me, that you wished to take my Hoogabaudar in your Service. I need not tell you, how happy I am in making this Man over to you ; not only as he will get a good Master, but it will safe me every Month 16 S[icc]a Rupees, which you *know* is a Capitol Sum for a Bura Bibby of Bengall ; however to showe you that I am not ungreatful to your favours, I send you a Hooga, with all that is requisite do it. Shall I tell you how happy you will make me by the Acceptance of it ? Or will you take my Word for it ?

As it is ■ very hot Day, and the first of April, which possibly you do not know.

I am Dear Sir

Your obliged and Humble Servant

MARIAN HASTINGS.

Major Davy was Hastings' Persian secretary. The 'Hooga' should read 'huqa' and the 'Hoogabaudar' is the huqa-bearer, the servant whose duty it was to prepare and present his master's (or mistress's, for smoking was commonly practised by ladies) huqa. A 'Bura Bibby' is a great lady.

XXIX ✓

*Allipoor*

*Saturday Evening.*

[Endorsed : 'Supposed to have been written from April to June, 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

Read the enclosed, and combine them with the Information of Mr Hollond's last Letters. I am affraid that We must at last wait for a peace to be finally concluded in a Medley of contending Interests at Poona.

I am not pleased with the Draft of our Letter to Madrass. Mr W[heler]'s Doubts, though so lightly expressed, have led my Mind into a Train of other Thoughts, and I would rather now bear with their little Petulances without a reply, than give them the Advantage of saying that We supposed them impressed with the Sense of impending Ruin, and cavilled with them ungenerously for their Expression of it. Perhaps you have softened the Letter ; but the Subject is hardly worth even ■ guarded Discussion with them.

Your most truly,

W. H.

Shall you be in Town to-morrow?

- Probably written early in April, for the first paragraph summarises part of Hastings' letter to Anderson of 6 April, 1782, and the second seems to refer to the letter from the Madras Select Committee, 22 March, 1782, urging 'the opinion we have formed upon the most serious consideration, that peace with the Marattas is become absolutely necessary to us, and that unless it be very soon concluded there is reason to apprehend the most fatal consequences to the British interests on this Coast' (*Madras Mil. Cons.*, 1782, p. 831).

XXX

*Saturday Evening.*

[Endorsed : 'May 10th, 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I send you the Translations of the Two Drafts of the Treaty. Read them if you can. Do not be discouraged by their Opposition to each other. Two Lines to meet must be drawn in opposite Directions. [M S. has an ostensible part to act, and he certainly does not expect that all which he asks will be granted, and Anderson who is not usually sanguine has no Doubts.]

'My Impatience to know what M S. proposed made me translate the other Draft myself thinking it his. You will admire his Accuracy. I hear nothing of the Reception of our [special?] plan.

Your ever,

W. H.

✓ [M S' is Mahadaji Sindia, with whom Anderson was negotiating the treaty to be made with the Peshwa.] For the course of the negotiations see Hastings' letters to Anderson, of 2, 6 and 12 April, 1782 (*Gleig*, ii. 534, etc.).]

XXXI

My dear Friend,

You have the Fort St George Letters. Have you been able to write an Answer to them ; or after

all is it necessary? I think not, if it is to be done with Trouble.

I will not deliver in my Minute ; but as it contains an Appeal to you and Mr Wheler, how shall I obtain your Opinion upon the proposed Migration? These will be necessary if I send it to Mr Sullivan. I am not very sanguine about it.

Your affectionately,

W. H.

Endorsed like the former. I do not know what ' the proposed migration ' was.

XXXII

*Thursday.*

My dear Friend,

I have written a long Letter to the Select Committee of Madrass on the Subject of the recommendation of peace and Instructions to Anderson. As I wrote from my own Feelings, possibly it may not agree with yours or Mr Wheler's. I wish you to see it. I would send it to you ; but my Draft is illegible, and it will take some Time to write it fair. If you will do me the Kindness to come out to Allipoor this Evening, and to pass it with me, We may read it together, and I have other Subjects to talk to you upon.

Will you venture yourself with me in my Buggy?

If you are engaged, I will call on you at Six this evening.

Yours affectionately,

W. H.

Hastings was peculiarly anxious to show that the measures taken by him *before* the arrival of Macartney and Macpherson had been directed to secure peace on the best possible terms.



## XXXIII

*Allipoor**Saturday Morning.*

[Endorsed : ' Supposed to have been  
written in May or June, 1782 '.]

My dear Friend,

It has given me Concern to hear that you have complained lately of Indisposition. I have perceived no Appearance of it, and hope it is nothing more than what may be blown off by the next North-wester, which (if you desire it) you shall have this Evening. In this Assurance, and with this proviso, I will give you the Trouble of reading, and the Fatigue of digesting what follows.

I shewed Mr Wheler my plan for the new provision and Charge of Stores. He made no Objection, but proposed to allow Mr Livius the Credit of resigning his office, that it might not appear to be taken from him. To this I had no Objection : But knowing the Fellow as I do, I do not believe that he will deliver his resignation, though he himself solicited it, till he has practised some Shifts and Delays, either for the purpose of eluding the proposed Change, or gaining something on parting with the office, perhaps by articling that some dirty Trash shall be taken off his Hands. I mean to press Mr Wheler to let the Business pass on Thursday next, and he is too candid to object to it.

I have put the plan into a simpler Form, and send it to you, begging that you will read and correct it : But I must propose One more Amendment. I have proposed 10 per Cent. for the Commission. I am affraid this will reduce the Agency too low, and therefore am much inclined to raise it to its usual Rate 15. You know why I lowered it. The annual Supply according to Duff's last List would if provided by Livius cost about 5 Lacks.

By the new Rates it will be reduced perhaps to 3 or 4. Of this Amount 1 or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  may be provided by the Agent at Chunar, and the Agent here will be left with a provision of no more than 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Lacks, the Commission on which at 10 per Cent will be 20, or 25000 Rupees per Annum, and if the Rule is made universal for officers to furnish their own Tents, even this Commission will be lowered considerably. I leave this to your Consideration.

Another Subject.

I was a good deal surprised the other Day to receive Colonel Duff's proposal for making Gunpowder, because from its following a proposition made by me for revoking Stewart's Contract, it had the Appearance of a concealed Collusion. I knew Colonel Duff's Wish to succeed to Stewart; but he certainly did not know my Intention of putting an immediate End to the Contract held by the other, because I had not mentioned [it] to him, nor to any One, not even (as I recollect) to you or Mr W. I am not sure that it did not arise out of my own Feelings [*Cetera desunt*]

XXXIV

*Allipoor*  
*Friday Evening.*

My dear Friend,

A large packet is just come from Madrass, in 7 Days. There is a Letter from the Admiral which I have sent to Mr Wheler. When you have read it, (it will be sent to you when he has) be so good as to let me have it again; for the Captain who brought it talks so that he has disturbed my Attention.

The 2 Squadrons engaged off Ceyloan. The Action most bloody, but indecisive. The Superb lost 59 killed and had 96 wounded, The Monmouth 45 killed, and

102 wounded. The whole Fleet 137 killed, and 430 wounded. Of the latter 110 are since dead at Trin-komalé. It is not known where the Enemy is gone.

Nothing material appears yet to have passed in the Carnatic, but I have a Mountain to read, and I will send it off for you and Mr Wheler as I clear it in parcels.

Yours most affectionately,

W. H.

See Hughes' letter of 1 May (Forrest, iii. 863).

XXXV

My dear Friend,

The Danes have sent large Supplies of Rice and Biscuit to Tranquebar, which are certainly destined for the French. Cannot We put a Stop to them? Cannot We forbid the Exportation but to our own Settlements? Can We not search the Ships, and stop such as are laden with provisions? Or cannot We exact a Compliance to these Forms from the Danes as a Condition for allowing them to be supplied at all, the province and its productions being our own?

Your affectionately,

W. H.

Neutral activities in time of war had always been a source of embarrassment. The situation was complicated by other European nations' not recognising English sovereignty in Bengal till 1814.

XXXVI

*On the River*

*Friday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'June 1782'.]

My dear Sir,

I would have called upon you if I could, before my Departure, but I was told that you were out

of Town ; and I have not had for some Days a Moment to spare from the Variety of Occupations, and some very painful, which have called for all the Employment of my Time at Home.

I have given Hay the proper Orders about the Eliza, and desired him to apply to you for such others as may [be] necessary.

May God bless you, and afford you that Benefit from the Change of Air and Climate which you so much need.

I shall be happy if I can be useful to you in your Absence, and with the most earnest sincerity offer you my Services.

Yours most faithfully and affectionately,

WARREN HASTINGS.

XXXVII

*Calcutta*

*Saturday Night, 6 June [1782].*

My dear Friend,

I have the pleasure to send you 4 Letters which will please you. It is curious that my Letters to Anderson and the General written on the receipt of the Treaty and dispatched at the same Time should have produced their Answers at the same Instant.

A Packet is arrived from the Company by Way of Bussora, with 3 Letters, the last dated the 22nd February, all in Cypher.

There is a Letter from Bombay which says ' It will be impossible for Us to set on Foot the intended Expedition without a large and early Supply of Money, as well to pay off Arrears as for Equipment of the Armament.' They lost a/Lack in the Revenge.

Coote has ordered Colonel Humberston to stay on the other Coast, and cooperate with the Presidency of Bombay, or act if he can by himself, in promoting a

Diversion. This is a plan which he says he always recommended. Hyder has sent a Man to him with Overtures for peace.

Angelo has just brought to me the enclosed plan. In a Scrap of the Company's Letters deciphered I find that they have ordered their Ships with the Forces to touch first at Balasore. Suppose We send Letters thither to wait for them, and others to Madrass, to desire that the Troopers may be sent to Bengal? We then can mount them, and they may make their own Way with Ease.

I will write to you much more to morrow.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

'The general' is Coote.

'The intended expedition' was a diversion from Bombay into Hyder's western possessions, made possible by the treaty with Sindia, which, though not at once ratified by the ministry at Poona, led to a cessation of hostilities with the Marathas. Colonel Humberston was a King's officer who had recently arrived in command of reinforcements. So far from Coote's always having recommended a diversion against Hyder in Malabar, he had furiously protested against a suggestion in 1781 that Medows should operate there; and in March he and Hughes had ordered Humberston to Madras (*India Office, Home Misc.*, 167, p. 321).

Angelo's plan regarded the provision of horses for the dragoon regiment on its way out.

#### XXXVIII

[Endorsed : 'The Governor General on Madrass affairs, June 82'.]

When We offered our Opinion and Advice upon your own Doubts respecting the general Conditions which it would be proper to observe towards the Nabob, We went as far as the Obligations imposed on Us by the Interest which this Government participates in the Affairs which



are immediately dependant on yours, and our Desire to conform to your Wishes, required Us. It is therefore sufficient to acknowledge the Receipt of the Copies of your Correspondence with the Nabob, and of the Extracts of your proceedings without marking those parts of them which received our particular Approbation, or suggested to Us any Matter of Observation.

For the same Reason We should maintain the same reserve with Respect to your Arrangement for the Discharge of the Nabob's Debts to his private Creditors ; but as this is a Subject upon which [*sic*] has already undergone the fullest Discussion from Us in the Agreement concluded by Us with the Nabob Walla Jah the last Year, We beg leave to refer you thereto for our present Sentiments upon your plan.

We sincerely lament with you the fatal Continuance of the Difficulties in which the War with Hyder has to this Time involved you, and the indefinite Prospect of its Duration. We feel the Force of the Expression which you emphatically use, 'that you by no Means see your Way through the War.' Your Exertions seconding and supporting the active Operations of Sir E. Coote may still protract the evil Hour ; but in the Continuance of a defensive War supported by foreign Aids and Means of Subsistence, under the encreasing pressure of a desolated Country, with an Enemy whose Success grows on your Losses, and who has hitherto derived the Sources of Wealth and population from the same Cause, We see no possible issue but utter Ruin, with the Hazard of its drawing after it that of these Provinces, if the Contest shall endure so long as to exhaust them of their natural Resources.

We mean not to add to your Discouragements, nor is this the Reflexion of Despair, but meant to contrast your present State with that which we infer as the Consequence

of a Change of plan ; for We are morally certain that your Deliverance is in your own power, if you will resolve to employ the only Means by which it is practicable. Resolve that the War shall be transferred to the Dominions of your Enemy, and the Issue cannot in the natural Order of Things prove otherwise than fortunate. We can add nothing to the Arguments which We have already repeatedly urged in Favor of this Plan, but that every Day furnishes new Incitements to it. The Success attributed to Colonel Humberston, and the Invitations which, as we read in Mr J. Sullivan's Letter, were made with promises of Assistance from the Adherents of the ancient Family of the Rajahs of Mysoor, are Events which while they impress us with painful Regret at the Loss of so fair an Occasion as appears to have been offered of commencing the Diversion while our Force was so considerable in that Quarter, demonstrate the Expediency of reverting to it.

We are sensible that the Execution of this plan ought to originate with the presidency of Bombay, and We shall again urge them to undertake it ; but We are convinced that they will be induced to a more speedy and vigorous Exertion, by your seconding Us in stating the benefits of it, and promising your Cooperation to promote their Success in it. But if they shall be disinclined, or appear slow to adopt it, You alone are the Judges of the Means which you possess, to attempt it yourselves, whether this may be effected by permitting the Forces under Colonel Humberston to remain on the other Coast for that Service, if he shall not have left it ; or by remanding or replacing it if he has ; or by other specific Means which We can only suppose, but do not venture to recommend.

We shall enclose Copies of our last, and the Letters written by the present Occasion, to the President and

Select Committee of Bombay ; that you may possess a more complete Judgement of our Views and Expectations.

A draft despatch to the Select Committee at Madras. It should be observed that the Madras authorities favoured the plan here recommended.

XXXIX

*Allipoor*  
*Tuesday.*

[Endorsed : '11 June 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I send you the papers you want and the Bombay Letters in Addition, with Heads of an Answer as I had prepared them through Laziness, or real Incapacity to do it in Substance. Either add and diminish these Heads, or (if you have a hearty disposition, for I have not, and have not the Conscience to press it on you) write the Letter wholly.

If I were at Madras I would compell Meadows to stay, and Stuart to return to Quarters : But I do not know how we can do it.

It appears that Hyder has done in Effect what you apprehend, tho' no formal Engagements have passed between him and the French.

Read Coote's Letter which mentions the Report of the Loss of Permacoil by *Surrender*, and the certain Loss of 590 Bullocks and their Loads of Grain by *Storm* : For the latter I would have put Mr Grain-keeper under fixed Bayonets, and tried him for Felony, had I been Commander in Chief or Sir E. Coote.

[I have written to Anderson to let me know whether Sindia goes to Poona, and intimated as a Matter of Course his accompanying him, if the other desired it. At all Events Anderson won't come away without Orders ;

and he will not be sorry to go on. Where can he acquire equal Importance? ]

I am heartily glad that you are better. I almost wish that I was sick, that I might have an Excuse for the horrid Languor of Body and Intellect that has depressed me during the prevalence of the late Sirocco. Mrs H. is amazingly well.

I believe no News, but that of the able Display given by Mr Francis to the House of Commons of the Causes of the Misfortunes in India, and the corrupt Compromise made between the G. G. and C. Justice.

Adieu

Yours affectionately

W. H.

Medows had arrived on the Coromandel Coast in command of reinforcements, but refused to take the field with Coote because he would have been under the command, not only of Coote, but also of James Stuart, the blustering and incompetent intriguer who had caused so much trouble and was to cause more.

Permacoil (or Perumukkal) surrendered to Hyder on 17 May.

✓ For Anderson's movements, see Hastings' letter to him of 4 June (Gleig, ii. 539).

'The corrupt compromise' is of course Impey's acceptance of the control of the Company's courts.

XL

*Friday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'Written in May or June 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

You alarmed me exceedingly by the Information which I first received from you, of your Indisposition. I have had the pleasure to learn from Dr Campbell, of whom I shall continue to make my

Enquiries, that you were better last Night, and that he did not apprehend either bad or lasting Consequences from your Complaint.

Shall I be troublesome to you if I make your House the Termination of my Evening's Airing? Campbell says it will not hurt you. Your Salam will be sufficient Answer, if Yea : If not, the Two Letters NO at the Foot of this will be as intelligible as a Volume. I am well.

Yours ever and most affectionately

W. H.

XLI

*Calcutta*

*Thursday Evening [? June, 1782].*

My dear Friend,

The most interesting Subject of your Letter, and that which I first looked for, I find scattered in various parts of it, and in some almost imperceptibly ; but they spell that you are much better. I am a little obliged to my Lambs for a portion of this Information, since I am affraid they would hardly pass for excellent Mutton without the Aid of a good Appetite. When I last looked at them Mr Cowper told me he had done all he could to make them fat, because they were not right Sheep but Paryer Sheep.

I shall trust chiefly to your Letters for the proper Information of our Affairs to our Friends in England, and for the proper Commentary on them. I have not begun to write a Line, nor shall till I hear of the Ratification of the Treaty. I cannot write, 'At length we have happily concluded a Maratta peace', and proceed to display the Advantages of it, with the possibility of a Disappointment glaring before my Mind : And I have Work provided for me for every Day sufficient to occupy every Space of it, though I advance by it but little.



The Investment makes no inconsiderable part. I am killed with Solicitations, and Remonstrances and Tales of Distress. I answer to all that it is no Concern of mine, that the Board of Trade will decide : But I express my Opinion that they ought to decide according to the Time, and to have some Consideration for the Risk which our Board incurs in a Plan so new, and succeeding a Disappointment so dreadfully unpopular as the Loss of the regular Investment and its consequent Suspension of Dividend. I fear I am losing my Credit and Reputation here, and doubt whether I shall retrieve either in England.

As to Contoo, I never invited or encouraged his proposals ; nor do I yet know that they are his. If Droz's approach to the Terms of these, I shall be glad that he has the Contract. If they are enormously high, I hope the Board of Trade will do their Duty without a Reference to Us. If any one else has the Contract, I would recommend an encreased Salary to the Chief, and justify it on the principle of Economy. If I knew how to desire Contoo to withdraw his proposals, I would. They are known to be his, and he will be an Object of Malevolence, and it will be said that I have some rascally Interest in it. I believe after all, I shall order him to withdraw them. But do not encourage a Hope of our Acquiescence if the Board of Trade commit gross partialities. I fear it.

Enough of this. I do not know when Mrs Hastings sets off on her journey. She will be glad of your Company as far as you please to accompany her ; for she has repeatedly desired me to recommend to you to be of her Party to Baugalpoor. She will rejoice when I tell her you are fast mending, and will desire me to return her Salam, and give you the Assurance of her good Wishes. She grows so well in Calcutta that I shall be tempted to

think she wants not a more propitious Climate. But I am on my Guard against the Temptation.

I will send you the Madrass Letters. Those from Sir E. C. do not mention the Loss of his advanced Guard, being all of older Dates. They contain nothing. Those of the S[elect] Com[mittee] yet *less*. They applaud the Wisdom of our policy in recommending a Diversion in Mysoor ; but this is all they can do, since by the powers which We have by our Orders vested in Sir E. C. and other Effects of our Letters the constitutional powers of the Government no longer exist. I don't like this. ✓

Adieu my Friend. Continue to grow stout. Take no Medicine, but Bark, and let Nature with her own Assistants, Diet, Air, and Exercise (not too much of the last) perform the rest. A Body of such stamina as yours requires little more at any Time. *Avoid such parts of the River as have Islands, or low Banks on the Leeward Side.*

Yours ever affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

Another Aphorism : *Be careful after Exercise not to cool too soon, and avoid the Air if you are heated by it.*

I assure you I have no little Skill in these Matters.

Owing to financial distress, it had been decided to suspend the Company's Investment, but at the same time to allow individuals to contract to supply the sortments usually sent home, receiving payment in bills drawn on the Company. The paragraphs above relating to this matter should be compared with Hastings' letter to Droz (Gleig, iii. 17), which throws much light on his difficulties in this connection.

Mrs. Hastings' journey was up the river to Bhagalpur, for which see *Warren Hastings' Letters to his Wife*, pp. 171, etc.

Coote's Grand Guard was ambushed and cut to pieces on ■ June.

## XLII

*Allipoor**Friday Evening.*

[Endorsed : ' 1782 '.]

My dear Friend,

I have employed a great part of this Morning in revising and correcting the Subscription plan, which ought to be finished before the packet goes, and ought to be both complete and perfectly intelligible. I now send the amended Draft for your Approval, or further Amendment. Mr Wheeler approves it as it now stands.

The Alteration in the 6th Article is only an Improvement of the Construction, and an Addition of the Rate of Exchange for the Charges of Merchandise which unless reduced to the same Medium as that of the Sales could not be subtracted from them.

I have added another Article between the 7th and 8th, which you will think reasonable, as the Investment will be in Effect the Company's, and ought to be provided with the same Advantages.

The Addition of the Words ' and lower if it can be ', was a Suggestion of Mr Becher. It may be effected, and ought to be ; and it will be an Encouragement to the Subscribers if they see a Prospect of it.

On the other page I have given an Example of the Manner of making out the Account of one Cargo conformably to the plan, and particularly to the 6th Art:

Yours most affectionately

W. H.

COMPUTATION OF THE PURCHASE, PRODUCE AND  
DIVIDEND OF A SHIP'S CARGO.

	Cur <sup>t</sup> Rs.
Price of the Cargo.....	14,60,000
Charges Merchandize .....	40,000
Total Amount of the Invoice.....	<u>15,00,000</u> Ct. Rs.
Net produce of the Sales in England...	<u>£250,000</u>
Dividend of the preceding Sum :—	
To the proprietors at the limited Rate of	
2 <sup>s</sup> . 6d. Per Current Rupee .....	£182,500
To the Commissioners vizt:—	
	£
Gross Commission 7 Per Ct on	
£250000. ....	17,500
Deduct Charges Merchandize—	
	s. d.
Ct. Rs. 40,000 @ 2 6 per	
Ct. R. ....	5,000
	<u>12,500</u>
Deduct the Company's Share of	
this Commission.....	3,375
	net. Com <sup>n</sup> . 9,125
To the Company for their Share.....	<u>58,375</u>
	<u>£250,000</u>

XLIII

JOHN MACPHERSON TO WARREN HASTINGS

15 June 1782 [Copy].

When do you mean to dispatch the Lively? We forgot to fix the day. My idea is that she should carry home the Ratification of the Mahrattah peace. The

news as it stands now will get home by a thousand channels. However if you wish to send her before we have the Ratification, I have no Objection.

*Remember My friend, again and again, that the despatches by the present conveyance are those that will give the final impression at home either to disgrace and disappoint your enemies, what ever points they may have carried against you ; or to establish yourself in that good fame, which is your right, and which will be the pillow of your future repose.*

*I am more anxious about you than you can be yourself, and perhaps I plague by my lectures. A few months will show you that I am well founded in my ideas.*

If it is practicable (and Croftes loves your reputation as his own) now that we are at peace here, to reduce the Bullock establishment, it would do us much credit in England.

Could we get the Renters who owe Us ballances to pay them in grain to have that grain sent to Madrass ?

Can we by any exertion reduce the expense of collecting the revenues from half a million ster: annually ?

Can we get any news from Palmer to relieve the Minds of people at home from what your enemies will represent about the additional weight of 30 lacks of the temporary Brigade ? What say you about your *Angulus ille* ?

*If my friend I could upon these heads write satisfactorily to the Ministers with the reductions already established in Goddard's charges, and your improvements in the Salt revenue, Investment &c. &c. Of this I could assure you that if even an opinion of the House of Commons had passed against you, and we should be superseded here by a parliamentary commission of enquiry, There is no dignity, or no friendly reception that you may not be assured of, if you are obliged to return to England.*

*This my friend, shall be my last plague to you, in the way*



*of opinion and precaution.* I am better to-day, and I shall be able to attend council on Monday.

Yours—

J. M.P.

The italicised passages above have been underlined in red ink, probably by Macpherson.

XLIV

[Endorsed : '28 June 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I was never very impatient for the quick Dispatch of the Lively, and am entirely of Opinion that she should wait for the Ratification of the Treaty. Mr Wheler too approves. *I thank you for your Lecture.* I will do all I can for my own Good, and am collecting Materials, which is the most arduous part of the Work. I am sorry that We must accomodate ourselves to English Ideas ; but *I have no Objection to reduce the Expense of the Bullock Contract. In one Way I know it can be ; but if I were to follow the Bias of my own Judgement I would break it entirely, and convert it to an Agency. Of this you may be assured that the lower the Rates are beat down, the more the Company will pay. I cannot answer your Question concerning the Effect of taking Rents in Kind without a long Discussion, because I think We might do it, and that we ought not ; that in honest Hands and careful it would prove ■ most excellent plan but that it would be abused.*

*The Expense of collecting might certainly be reduced, and shall. The Collections may and ought to be encreased.*

I don't know where Palmer is, having heard from him from Benares ; not later. I gave him a Memorandum in Writing, and a long verbal Instruction about your *Angulus ille*. I will write to him particularly for Materials, with which I hope to furnish you abundantly from him and others.

*Your Note I keep as a Memorandum. Excuse this hasty Reply to it.* I am at this Instant loudly called off by a Haunch of Venison which smoaks within 5 Inches of this paper.

I am most heartily glad that you mend : The Season that sickened you is over. Adieu and a good Appetite be with you.

Yours ever affectionately,

W. H.

The italicised English passages have been underlined in red ink, probably by the recipient. Hastings' instructions to Palmer will be found in Gleig, ii. 559, but of course do not explain *angulus ille* ; I can only guess that it refers to one of the numerous English adventurers whom Hastings was endeavouring to remove from Oudh.

XLV

Calcutta

Wednesday.

My dear Friend,

Sullivan shall have no Cause to complain of me. I have seen him and will talk with you about him to morrow.

I have taken the Liberty to order Auriol to send the fair Letter, for a Draft, or for Signature, as it might be approved ; because he told me that if it was to be sent first for Approval, it could not go by this Night's Post, and it would lose half its Effect by the Delay. If you see no material Defect or Fault in it sign it : It is not Business. If you see any Expression that may lead to Consequences, and those not good, consider it a Draft, and correct it. It will then be Business. I am happy to find that our Orders to Gregorie were as full and as proper as Sr Ed. himself could have given. And ' *at that Rate* ' he ought *not* to have been taken. ✓

Sr Ed. is *the good Sir Edward*, as you term him, and I will indulge him in an Expression of half Anger. I believe it is the first that he ever used, in writing at least, and I hope not directed this Way.

Your affectionately and truly,

W. H.

'Sullivan' was probably Richard, who had been sent down to Madras as agent for the Governor-General and Council with the Nawab in 1781, and who announced his intention of returning to Bengal in April, 1782 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS., 29154, f. 130). Auriol was the Secretary to the Council. Gregorie was the commander of the *Fortitude*, which had just been taken by Suffren's squadron.

XLVI

*Calcutta*

*Saturday Morning.*

[Endorsed : '4 July 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I will patiently submit to a Repri-  
mand, the Punishment due to my Offences, if the Justice  
that inflicts it will hang Sir T. Rumbold : but there is  
not Virtue sufficient in England to go beyond the first,  
although there is an Abundance of Honor in it to spare  
a large Share to decorate the latter.

I wait for the Treaty. I cannot write till I receive it.  
Then dispatch the Lively when you will.

I forgot to answer your Opinion about the Horses  
wanted for Fort St George.

There has been some Time before the Board a proposal  
of Angelo's to provide the Number required for a  
Commission of 15 Per Cent, the Horses not to exceed  
14½ Hands, not younger than 4 Years nor older than 7,  
and to be sound. If it be determined to buy Horses, I  
would prefer his Offer to any other plan, changing the

Commission to a Rate on each Horse, or contracting for a price.

Angelo is an honest Man, and certainly skilled in the Knowledge of Horses. He says, he would go himself to the Market or Fair, and if he meets with no Rubs he may bring the Horses to Calcutta for about 500 Rs. a Head, or less. But hear the Rubs which he may meet with :

1st. a Combination among the Dealers who may (I won't say they will) raise the price on so large a Demand.

2nd. They will be stopped by the Way. Nedjib Cawn always did it : This Rub I will remove if I can, and I think I can.

3rd. Kicks, Maims, Strains from Boats and bad Roads, Sickness and Death by the Way, which is 1200 Miles of bad Road.

4th. The Fair is in December. The purchases may be completed by the End of January. The shortest Time in which they could perform the Journey, allowing no Detentions, I rate at 4 Months, which brings their Arrival down to the End of May. It will remain to get them to the Coast, and for this you have Two Means. 1st If you send by Land you must wait for the Month of December at the soonest, for you will lose them if you make them travel through the rainy Season ; and all the South of Bengal, and part of Orissa, are Swamps, Sloughs and Lakes till near January. I will allow them to begin the Journey on the 15th of December and to finish it in 3 Months and a Half, *i.e.* by the End of March 1784 ; And that period We may ask with the Poet ;

Where's Troy, and where's the Maypole in the Strand ?

2ndly Let us try the Water. You will never think of embarking 1000 Horses in the Teeth of the South

South

Monsoon, and in its greatest Vigor. You must wait till the End of October, for you ought not to run Hazards with such a Cargo, for the Sake of saving ■ few Days. I suppose the horses all on Board by the 15th of November and at Madras and landed by the 30th of November 1783. Do you wish Hyder to stay till the 30th of November '83? I don't.

If he stays you will want all the Tonnage of both ports for Grain, and you will have none to spare for Horses. If he goes, you will have plenty of Shipping to transport your Horses, but the Government of the Carnatic will not want them, and they will tell you that if they did, they could get them better and cheaper at Trippety.

5th. Send them which Way you will, if they cost less than Ten Lacks of Rupees, I will forfeit the Difference : And where shall We get the Money ? Remember too that We must maintain them afterwards, which will draw from Us at least an additional Charge of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Lacks a Year.

As to the Two Regiments, I should be well pleased with so fair an Occasion to get rid of them ; but I doubt whether they would be able to go so far, and to perform Service afterwards. Besides you must send them with Sises ; for their own Riders would refuse to go to be dismissed, and I should scruple to force them, because it would be bad Justice and bad Policy. And the General says, and repeats, ' It won't do, you must not think of it '.

Think of what I have written, and if you can, efface it. I would promise them to do what We can, but I do not like to make false promises.

I have completed the Establishments of the Fowjdarree and criminal Courts. The Saving will be about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Lacks, perhaps more, because Mahomed Riza Cawn now draws for what money he pleases, and gives no Accounts. I have guarded the new plans against Elusions, and will be answerable for their Effect.



I am heartily glad that you mend ; but hope now to hear that you are past mending. Let me know always how you are.

I had forgot. In your Account of Supplies to Fort St George state that We have sent from the 14th December 1780 to 31st May 1782, provisions of all Kinds to the Amount of 18,43,824—14—8 Current Rupees, which rated at the Medium Rates of the Market at Madras are equal to 23,57,588—12—1 Current Rs. of ready Money.

Adieu.

Yours most affectionately

W. H.

Angelo's horse-project, to supply the dragoons with horses, was not put in execution ; the dragoons were mounted at Madras.

'Where's Troy,' etc. occurs in Bramston's *Art of Politics*.

'Trippety' is Tirupati, in the North Arcot district of the Madras Presidency, on the road to Hyderabad, the chief horse-mart in the south.

XLVII

*n.d.*

My dear Friend,

My Conscience reproaches me when I write or speak to you on any Subject that can add to the Fatigue of your Mind, because I think I see that you want both rest of body and Tranquillity of Spirit. I wish I could possess either, having had my whole Morning torn from me by *aliena Negotia*, all covered by the public Interest. Among the rest is the accompanying public Letter from Petrie, who is very earnest for its Success. I have been under an Embarrassment about it, viewing it in 3 different and doubtful Lights. You first mentioned it to me, but whether (1st) as ■ Matter in which you wished to serve Mr Petrie on the Ground of accommodating the Company's wants ; or (2ndly) as ■ Matter

which had been explained to you for the Relief of the Company by administering to the Necessities of Bencoolen, conveying the pepper which lay with Hazard, and a useless Charge on their hands, to China where it was wanted, and furnishing an Aid of Tonnage to the China Trade for England ; and which on that single Ground you encouraged ; or (3rdly) as a Matter in which you had given yourself no Concern, and had not either interested yourself for the person, nor informed yourself of the Subject ; I am yet doubtful.

Let me know in which of these Relations the Subject stands to you, and I will consider it accordingly. I have not yet read the Letter.

I send you a Letter just come from Major Palmer, which will please you.

I hope you are better to Day.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

John Petrie was a Company's servant in Bengal. I do not know why he was so interested in the shipping of the Company's pepper from Bencoolen (in Sumatra) to Canton.

XLVIII

*Thursday Morning.*

[Endorsed : ' Written about the time  
Colonel Morgan was sent to Bombay '.]

My dear Friend,

Auriol tells me that you wished to talk with me upon the Two points which I proposed, respecting an Exchange of prisoners and Colonel Morgan's separated Command ; grounding your Doubts of the former on Lord McCartney's Objections, and of the latter on the Company's O[rder]s. The first may lie a

few Days, but I wish you could determine on the last, because the Ship waits for Colonel Morgan and the Season will not wait for the Ship. I understand from him that you approve of the Line drawn for his Command. My only Reason for proposing it is to ensure an Obedience to our Orders for the Reduction of the Expenses of the Detachment which exceed what they ought to be by at least 30 Lacks a Year—an enormous Excess ! In this Recommendation I have shewn a personal Kindness, apparently, to a Man, who has certainly no Claim to it from me, and whose Nomination gave me Pain ; and I have shewn an apparent Unkindness to a Man whom with all his Faults I love and esteem. But it is necessary.

With Respect to the other proposal I must say Two Words. The Squadron wants Men more than the French do, and We are more embarrassed by the Charge of Prisoners taken from them than They by our own. We must not suffer a People of Frenchmen to grow in these provinces, and a Stop must be put to it, or they will ruin us. If it rested with me alone, I would forbid them being sent hither, and I would send them back again. If you are not of my Opinion, do not trouble yourself to say so. The Subject may rest till Monday.

Shall I propose Cummings for the General's Brigade ? Or what shall be done for him ? If the General relinquishes the Command it must devolve either to Colonel C[umming] or Colonel Muir.

Yours affectionately,

W. H.

Morgan was sent to take over the command of the Bengal detachment in the Bombay Presidency from Goddard, mainly, it would seem, from a belief that the latter was neglecting to enforce the Bengal orders for economy. The following letter, No. XLIX., however indicates that the

charge was due to a misapprehension. Morgan took over the command on or before 15 September (Goddard to the Governor-General and Council, 15 September, 1782, *ap. Secret Consultations*, 20 January, 1783).

Regarding the exchange of prisoners proposed by Suffren and Duchemin to the Madras Select Committee, Coote held that any such exchange was disadvantageous unless Hyder also would agree. The proposal therefore dropped, with the result that numerous prisoners taken by the French squadron were handed over to Hyder for safe keeping.

## XLIX

*Calcutta*

*Tuesday Night 9 July [1782].*

My dear Friend,

I have committed a grievous Blunder with your Letter to little Davy, which I opened at the Instant that it was delivered to me, concluding it to be addressed to myself. I saw the Words *secret* and *confidential* at the Top, and read on with the most perfect Disposition to obey their implied Injunctions, not understanding a Syllable of the first Page, and amazingly puzzled with my own Name expressed in the 3rd person without any apparent Rule of Construction to warrant it. I began to suspect a Mistake, and passing to the Close saw Davy's Name there. The Cover explained all my Difficulties. I shall send it in its mangled State with an Intimation to little Davy of the Cause of it; and I now make my Apology to you for the Liberty which I have taken, assuring you that your Secrets, if the Letter contained any which I ought not to know, are as safely relodged there as if the Seal had remained untouched.

I return Davy's Letter. Palmer has been deluded by others and self-deluded, for he knows not what he wants to load himself with, when he complains of Middleton for not leaving with him the responsibility of old Accounts

and Arrears of the Assignment. The Co's Letters have been sent to you. I am satisfied with them. I only wish that Sullivan would drop his plans of making new Establishments, when it is as much as We can do to keep the old. And *cui Bono*?

I want no Honors. Let me leave these Provinces unincumbered, and be allowed a peaceful Retirement at Home. I aim at no more.

Your Return would be a Satisfaction ; but it is not necessary, and you are better employed for me where you are ; for I shall not be able to write a Line to any of my English Correspondents, great or small, but of Excuse for not writing ; except One Letter to the Secret Committee, which will be a Labor, and I cannot begin it till the Treaty comes, or the News of its Ratification. As to our desultory Correspondence, it is Instruction—it is Amusement, for you and I are not on such Terms that I should keep my Mind on the Stretch of Study when I write to you. I write with people talking to me, in Council, in Headaches, and with a Mind occupied with other Subjects ; and I write by Fits ; for Instance I began this two Nights ago, and it is now the 11th.

I will send the General the private Extracts of Anderson's Letter respecting M[ahdajee] S[indi]a's Assurances. The Suppression of them in our former Advices was intentional. The General or Lord M[acartney] would or might have at least have made them public, and that would have hurt Us. It matters not now.

Read the enclosed Letter to Lord McCartney. Are not you pleased with it ? I am amazingly, to find that We have done One great Act with which every Body is pleased.

I have taken some pains to examine Goddard's Accounts. I am affraid that he has been misrepresented. His fault has been not Disobedience of Orders, but



Negligence in answering them ; for his last Accounts have been greatly reduced. The whole Expense of October last, which is the last received, is Curt. Rs. 181,855—14—7 which is below the Establishment by 1450 Rs. And in a Letter just received from him, the rest of which is in Cypher, he promises the most rigid Observance of the Establishment. Unfortunately the general Orders by which the Line of Responsibility was accurately drawn between the Commander in Chief and the Pay Master, were not sent, and the subsidiary Regulations of the same Order you were not apprized of, and the Secretary who was new in Office did not advert to it. These I will shew you when We next meet, and We will then consult together what We have further to do in this Business.

It may be a Gratification of Curiosity to know that the whole Charge of this Detachment from its first Institution computed from the 1st May 1778 to the End of October 1781, including a period of 3 Years and 6 Months amounted to Curt. Rups. 120, 38, 385—10—2, or taken at a Medium 34, 39, 539 Rs. a Year, and 2, 86, 628 Rs. a Month.

The Board of Trade have not sent their proceedings or the proposals for the Contracts. Contoo by my Advice, and *propter Invidiam*, has reclaimed his proposals.

I have read the Two Acts of Parliament. The Tryall is hourly expected, and Lord McCartney has overland Dispatches for me which he said he would send by Land.

I have been employed 3 heavy Days with Mr Wheler and the Chief justice in the Examination of a Charge of Piracy and Murder, and am outrageous at the Waste of so much Time. We met yesterday at 8 and parted after 8.

Mrs Hastings leaves Calcutta on Monday, I shall

accompany her as far as Hugly ; perhaps a little further ; but can hardly hope to reach you.

Adieu, my dear Friend.

Yours ever

W. HASTINGS.

4 o'clock 13th July.

The Tryall's packet is arrived and all that I have written in this Will be lost. What a pity !

Major Davy was sent with Palmer to Oudh as his confidential assistant in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Chunar. The reader should compare Hastings' letters to Palmer and Middleton (*ap.* Gleig, ii. 559, etc.), especially that to Palmer of ■ July.

I think the 'letter to Lord McCartney' is a slip of the pen, and that Hastings refers to a letter from Macartney and the Madras Select Committee congratulating him on the conclusion of peace with the Marattas.

The two Acts of Parliament must be 21 Geo. III. c. 65 (dealing with the Company's financial relations with Government) and c. 70 (limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court).

For Mrs. Hastings' trip up the river, see *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 171, etc.

Hastings had lately received letters from Sullivan (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29147, ff. 37 and 299), urging the occupation of Ceylon and speaking of long-cherished plans for settling the Nicobar Islands and Achin.

L

Calcutta

Saturday Evening.

[Endorsed : '13 July, 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I have read the enclosed. I have Two Letters from Mr Sullivan on the same Subject relating to me. They [are] dated the 15th and 21st August. I have none from him of a later Date, at which I am uneasy. The Co. have approved my Resolution (By the

K

by I never made One ; I only said what would happen of Course) to stop the Investment, and they have authorised the Board to draw on them for 40000-50000 £. for an Investment of piece Goods only, and to license private Adventurers among their servants to send home an Investment of their own in Raw Silk. They will like our plan which is better. I have hinted to Dacres that he may allow a profit of 20 P. Cent on the Goods provided, including all Charges but no more. This will reduce the Raw Silk 20 and even 30 Per cent. In this Reduction you and Wheler must support me.

Adieu, my Friend, I will not write more, for you have much to read.

Yours affectionately ever,

W. H.

LI

*On the River*

*Tuesday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'July 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I received Two short Letters from you yesterday, One respecting Mr Woolly, the other expressing an Impatience for your Europe Dispatches. These I sent you on the Evening of the Tryall's Arrival in a light Boat which set off with the Flood Tide. ✓

I now send you another parcel brought by Mr Dunkin overland, and dispatched by Lord McCartney by the Post. I have not opened Mr McPherson's Letters, one only excepted, which had no cover, and which he desired me to read. He is the only Man in England who possesses a cool and prescient Mind. All the rest, Great and small, wise as well as foolish, despond on every sudden Reverse of Fortune, and presume on ■ Ray of prosperity. I send you One of his Letters to read, because

I like the Spirit of it.<sup>1</sup> I wish that our Rulers would play at Chess, and learn that even with the best play many both pawns and capital pieces must be given and taken before the Game can be won. All my friends tell me that unless I make a Maratta Peace I am a lost Man. Something like it seems connected with the Fate of their annual Investment. Alas ! They will hear of my Troubles at Benaris, without any Thing to buoy up their Hopes of a Maratta Peace or an Investment, except a promise made in the General Letter which they will soon discover that you were unable to perform : they will not have a Letter from myself, public or private, by the Dispatches of the last Year ; Their Hopes will fail them, and who knows the Consequence ? Perhaps Despair and Timidity on One Side, and Intrigue and Malevolence on the other, may conspire to effect my Removal, and to place in my Stead some abler and more willing Man who will say 'Let there be peace', as a Sufficiency for the Conclusion, 'And there was peace' : And who will give them full Investments in Spite of contending Enemies for the Destruction of their Existence. There was a Time when such a prospect would have made me miserable. Were it now to terminate in its Appearance I should glory in the Conviction which a few Months would produce of the Folly and Injustice of such an Event. They would find that a Maratta peace, and one praised even by Coote and Lord McCartney, had been concluded, and that an Investment had been provided, at least the sure Grounds of One, on a plan exactly according to the Spirit of their own, and better than theirs. They have excluded Raw Silk, because it was a losing Article. We have made it a profitable One, both for the present and the future Provision, and included it in the Investment.

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<sup>1</sup> 'See the mark  ' Hastings interpolates, evidently having so marked a passage in James Macpherson's letter.



I wrote to Dacres, begging him to give Us the Close of the proceedings of the Board of Trade on the Contracts. He replied that they could not be ready for some Days. I am yet affraid of him. He told me with a Manner which evidently marked Design that he did not expect the Commission, and has shewn other Symptoms which look like a Determination not to forgo his Perquisites. We have been obliged to remind them of their Declaration on Honour. If they now refuse it, I will move for new Commissioners.

You and Mr Wheler must support me in this Business : I do not mean by public Acts, but by personal discouragement of all the Artifices which may be tried to defeat the plan.

I am told that the Rates offered for Filature Silk are about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  Rs Per Seer. This is a poor Reduction of Rs. 13. 10. 3 Per Cent from last Year's price, and will yield a profit to the Contractor and those who share it with him, of 31 Per Cent. Hitherto their Gains have exceeded 50 Per Cent. If they push me, I will affirm my Conviction of this Fact, and put it to the Test.

I do not like Woolley's Scheme. The N[abo]b will take his Jewells, and perhaps at his own price, but he will not pay him, and he will become a private Incumbrance on the Company's Assignments. Besides it will be a Breach of Agreement, and 50 Friends of Mr Wheler's, as well as my own, will be ready to force their passage with him, if the Door is opened. It will be a bad precedent to the public, and be assured it will be his Ruin, if he is allowed to go.

If you wish to proceed to the City, Sir John D'oyly who is of our party shall join and go with you. He may come back again, or I can render it unnecessary by settling his Business with Croftes's Assistance at Sooksaugur. Mrs H[astin]gs means not to make any Stay there, and I shall return from thence.



Adieu. I shall send this by a Boat as soon as the Tide turns.

Yours most affectionately

W. H.

'Woolley's scheme' was clearly aimed at Oudh.

'The city' is Murshidabad.

LII

*Fort William*

22 July 1782.

My dear Friend,

I have received yours of the 19th. I wonder at Auriol's Blunder in sending you the cyphered Letter to Coote. It was not necessary that you should sign the fair Letter, but you ought to have seen the Copy. ✓ I will send it to you to morrow. If Coote is allowed a Latitude to treat beyond the Line of the Maratta Treaty, he will offer Concessions, which will have no other Effect on Hyder than to encourage him to hold out, and rise in his Demands. He will make peace at any Rate, if it is for his Interests to make it, that is, if he expects the Marattas to make reprisals on him. If he does not, he will either not make peace at all, or he will exact his own Conditions and those will not bind him. To give him Trichinopoly (Do you know that he has demanded it, and that Coote has hesitated in refusing it?) would be to give him the Carnatic. I fear not the French if the Marattas quarrel with him.

I am not affraid of the Committee of Secrecy, nor of what any man or Men can now do against me. I have read over all their proceedings in the Carnatic Enquiry, and in that I find nothing said of our Government but what does it Honor, and every page of it black as Hell with the Turpitude of Rumbold. Professing only to state Facts without Opinion or Comment they use involuntary

Expressions of contrasted Applause when they mention our Interference. They say the G.G. and C<sup>l</sup>. of Bengal wrote to the Nizam a Letter calculated equally to conciliate his Mind, and to save the Dignity of the Presidency of Fort/St George, and add 'In the same Strain of propriety and Moderation' they wrote to Fort St George. Again, 'While the G.G. and C<sup>l</sup>. were thus employed in restoring the Nizam's F[aith] to the Co' the Select Committee of Madras were employed in suspending Mr Hollond. These are not Indications of Hostility.

Let them scrutinize the Maratta War. They already *begin* to know that it did not originate with me : And whatever Errors they may discover, or fancy they discover in the part which I acted in it, they will find them mere Differences of Judgement, in which it is impossible to impute to me an interested Motive ; for I knew not a Man in the Council, and they have all abused me from the Conclusion of Upton's Treaty to the latest Hour of their Dispatches to England. I was therefore not in Concert with them. Poona was too distant for a mercenary Manoeuvre, and the Government of Naugpoor never had a spare Rupee to give. Poor Thomas who was invited to save the Life of the Dewan had nearly lost his own for want of the common Necessaries of Life when he was there.

Would to God Lord North would read my Letters, or give them to some able Hand like your *James* to read them. In three I detailed all my own Designs and Expectations, and all the latter were verified as if they had been written with the Spirit of Prophecy. This is no Argument of a very mistaken Judgement.

It is too late now to say what would have been the Issue of my plans had I not been counteracted by those whose Duty it was to support them. It is now my most

confirmed Opinion that I should have drawn out of the first Scrapes of Bombay (had they committed no more) the Means of raising the British Empire in India to a Height of more splendid Glory, and a Greatness more permanent than any foreign State ever yet acquired over remote Provinces. But who will believe me? The Madness and Meanness of Bombay which produced the Surrender of a British Army at Worgaung; and the Corruption and Insolence of Rumbold that irritated the Two States which adjoined to the Carnatic, which provoked the Invasion of One with all its dreadful Consequences, and would have added the other to the Catalogue of the British Enemies had not our Government prevented it; completely defeated my Schemes and involved my Conduct in all the Consequences of their Mismanagements. All know what has happened, and will attribute them as Effects common to all, to all the Actors in the same general Scene.

Something too much of this.

I read with pleasure the Hints and Sketches which you have presented me of your Letters to England. Were you not so well employed in that Way, and did I not depend absolutely on you for home-representations (for I cannot write a Line) I would not so patiently part with you so long.

I think you misunderstand the Object of the Clause in the new Act which empowers the Company with the King's Consent to appoint a provisional Governor General. It is certainly meant as a Reservation for a Case in which they may be dissatisfied with the Man who stands the next in regular Succession, to set him aside without the Violence of Complaint and declared Dismission. They will nominate the provisional Member of the Council, and keep a Couple always in waiting (that is bad enough) but they will never make ■ similar pro-

vision for the first Appointment, except (as I have said) in desperate Extremities.

Besides, every Letter that I receive assures me that a Merit is made of your Appointment independently of your personal Influence as a sure Indication of a fixed principle prevailing to support me, and to give me the Effect of constitutional power in the Harmony of a cordial and united Administration. The same is said of Stables's Nomination. What would be the Effect of a provisional Nomination to my place which superseded all the actual Members? I should lose you, Stables, and Wheler, and should prepare to follow *as soon as it suited my own Conveniency*, acquitted of every Tie of Conscience and Honor to serve beyond it, because I should receive it as a certain Indication that my nominated Successor was meant to displace me; and I will never engage a shattered State in a new Seven-years-Contention.

I derive other prospects from this Clause. I wish to communicate them to you. They cannot be written.

If Anderson will but send us the News of the Ratification of the Treaty, I think I can instantly propose a Reduction of at least half a Crore of Rupees, and begin it before the Dispatch of the packet.

My Meaning in the Distinction of *private* and *public* is this.

I see plainly a Determination in the Board of Trade to defeat our plan of Reduction. They will try the Effect of personal Solicitation. If they receive but a Hint of Encouragement, or see but a Symptom of Compunction or Hesitation in Mr W[heler] you or myself, they will regard the public Resolution of the Board as Acts merely ostensible. Let our Language be one, and they will fear to counteract Us.

They have sent proposals for Raw Silk at 9, 9½ and 9½ Rs. and they have recommended some even of the last.



Purling wrote me a Letter recommending and introducing the principal Merchants of Chinchura as Bidders for the new Investment. I referred them stating the recommendation of the principal Commissary at Chinchura, to Mr Dacres with their proposals. They offered to contract for 8.8. Their proposals were rejected, because the Board of Trade knew not who they were.

We have sent back all the proposals, instructing them to accept none above 8.12. We have made no Exceptions to those already delivered but grounded the Necessity of the reduction, or of a total Exclusion of Raw Silk from the Investment, on the Company's Orders received last Week, which forbid an Investment of Silk because they lost by it, and forbid the Disuse of the Manufacture.

If they tell Us that they cannot find Bidders, I will ; and I shall then hope to find you and Mr W[heler] equally determined with myself to put the Business into other Hands.

Adieu, my Friend. I have exceeded my Hour of Sleep by above an Hour, and I shall weary your patience.

Your most truly and affectionately  
always

W. H.

Sir J. Doyly will tell you that I desired him to return to Moorshidabad with you.

LIII

*Calcutta*

23 July 1782.

My dear Friend,

Colonel Muir is here, and very angry : I am affraid he has Reason, and I value him too much to give him Cause to be angry. Has Cumming made his Election ? I do not know what Claim he has on you.



On me he has none but what he derives from you, and Muir's Merits, both public and personal, are infinite. Let the other have the General's Brigade, and the General go on his Duty.

I send you Copies of our Letters to Coote. You will remember the first. I hear that Graham was gone or going to Hyder. I fear it. If he negociates, he will infallibly do Mischief. Remember this.

Yours ever,

W. H.

I return your Letters, and thank you. The Evidence against Rumbold is strong enough to convict twelve Felons, such as Felons are of vulgar Size, but he will surmount it all. There is not Virtue in England for the punishment of wealthy Villainy.

Graham was a Bengal covenanted servant acting as Persian translator with Coote.

LIV

*Calcutta*  
*Sunday Evening.*

[Endorsed : 'July 82'.]

My dear Friend,

I am much pleased with your Letter to Lord McCartney. There is One Fact in it which you have antedated ; and I think it deserves Correction, because it would take Something from the Candor of our Conduct towards his Lordship had it really influenced Us in our Opinion given upon the points in Dispute between him and Sir E. C[oote]. I mean Braithwait's Defeat. We had not heard of it when We wrote the Letter. I think not. However it had no Influence on our Opinion, which was declaredly given as the in-

evitable Result of the Question unconnected with any previous Facts, of which We professed to have no Knowledge, and chose not to seek any. Perhaps it would be the most effectual Revenge on Lord McCartney to tell him to regard our Letter as not written. I wish to say something to that Effect : But Care must be taken of the double-edged Weapon that while We withdraw it from his Lordship it does not wound the General. That I most fear.

They never hear such Intelligence from this Quarter as it concerns them to know from private Hands before We write it. They are eager to find Fault, and in the Credulity of Malevolence they catch at the Rumor of the Bazar for true Intelligence. The very Instance which they quote to prove their Assertion is a proof of its weak Foundation. On the 31st of May they write that they had received private Information of the peace concluded by Treaty with the Marattas ; but this was our Way : We never sent them Intelligence of important Events till they had heard it from 50 Channels of private Communication a Fortnight before. Yet this News of the Treaty which had reached them before the 31st of May, did not travel to Us before the 3rd of June ; and it was sent by Us (at least I sent it) by the next post.

I wish you to hint—not recriminating—to Lord McCartney, that though his official Advices are regular in their Dispatch, they always come by the post, which being 18 Days on the Way, every Ship brings *the same* Advices in 7 or 8 Days, *precisely the same*. It is ■ Fact that I never yet received any interesting Information in the Letters of the Committee that I did not know before. Even Andrew Ross has conveyed useful Knowledge to Us.

I kept the Madras Letters intending to make a short Reply to a Volume of their Arrears ; but having appointed

Weller to bring me the papers of his office for the purpose of peeping into them, they have displayed such a Scene of Disorder, perplexity and Extravagance as has wholly drawn my Attention to them. I have been employed in unravelling them during the whole of Yesterday and to Day. I have put off the Council tomorrow for the purpose of prosecuting this Business, and I am resolved not to quit it till I have got through it. It shall produce a Saving of some Lacks, for at present the Fowjdarry stands fixed at 10½ Lacks, which ought not to be 3. Mahomed Riza Cawn has doubled his Establishment and delivers no Accounts so I suppose there will have been an Excess of more than Ten Lacks in the Course of the last Year. I now [? come] back to your Note.

To morrow Morning I will send you the Madras Letters by a Man of my own.

I am sorry that you are not as well as you promised to be in your first letter.

By all Means send your Letter to Lord McCartney. I will ratify what you promise. ✓

Why do you suffer Things to vex you? Your Mind is by Nature of so smooth a polish that with very little Attention to it on your part you might cause the Cares of Life to roll off without affecting it, or if they do stick by suffering them to dry rub them off without soiling. My Mind being of a rougher Texture, I use the last Expedient, and find it answer. I never pass a Day without suffering a Dozen Mortifications in the Course of it. They last a few Seconds, dry, and fall off, or (as I advise you) I rub them off, and am the cleaner for them. Sometimes a little Stain remains when this Operation is done in a Hurry; as in the Instance of the Question which you put to me, whether I had given Middleton Leave to quit his Station. It hurt me, and it now hurts

me that I told you so ; for why should I add to your Anxieties ?

Pray attend to my medical Advice.

I am my dear Friend

Yours most truly and affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

I am tired and cannot re-read my Letter.

LV

*Fort William*

*28 July 1782.*

My dear Friend,

I have received yours of the 25th and I am vexed that you have changed your plan, because on weighing both sides of the Question I had found that you were better employed abroad than you will be at home, because it would have been an agreeable Trip, especially as you would have had good Company in the Way to Murshedabad, and because I have written several long Letters to you for nothing, as their Subjects will have become obsolete when you can receive them. They are all patiently waiting for you at Coss[imbazar] and may wait unless the Postmaster is told to return them. Another Because is that I sent away Sir J. D'oyly with his Business a little incomplete to be your Cicerone.

Since you are come so near to Us again, I own I wish to see you with Us. You may take to the Water when you will again.

I shall say nothing of Palmer and Middleton till I see you.

I shall keep this unclosed till I have received back from Mr Wheler a Letter from the Committee of Fort St George with the latest Account of the Two Fleets.

We have done all that We could do in the Investment

and if the Board of Trade do their Duty it will be the best Investment that the Company ever received since she was born, old as she is.

Adieu.

Yours most truly and affectionately,

W. H.

LVI

[8 August 1782.]

My dear Friend,

I send you the Admiral's Narrative of the late Action. Mr Wheler has the Letter and will forward it to you when he has read it.

I have ordered all the Guns round the Ramparts to be fired to morrow Morning, and We will write a handsome Letter to Sir Edward.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

See Hughes' letter of 15 July and the accompanying narrative (Forrest, iii. 875).

LVII

*Allipoor*

*Sunday*

[Endorsed : 'Mr. Hastings' opinion of Mr. Bristow written in 1782 some months before his appointment to Lucknow'. The appointment was made in October, 1782.]

My dear Friend,

I did not suspect when an instant Thought prompted me to send my Letters for Anderson to you for your Approbation, that I was providing you so much Trouble. I am however a Gainer by it. I have not sent away that Letter. What I have done in the Business of Lucnow I will shew you to morrow, and plan



with you the rest, which can better wait. I know what you would recommend. Hear my Objections.

1. He wants Ability, and the present Scene requires it in the highest Degree.

2. He wants Integrity, equally necessary.

3. He wants personal Attachment, another requisite.

4. I could not persuade people that I had a Confidence in him, and therefore they would not trust him.

5. He would accept the Offer with Triumph ; he would either make his own Harvest with it, and pretend that Middleton had rendered his Office impracticable before he took it ; or he would endeavor to establish a contrasted reputation by making the most for the public during One Season, and for himself when the Effect of that was accomplished.

6. The Act would be Self Condemnation.

7. I have looked over the List of Company's Servants, and find but Two whom I could trust with such a Charge. Yet there are many of whom I entertain a very high Opinion, and very many superior in Understanding and in the Knowledge of Business to Bristow. What Inducement could I have to make such an Offer to such a Man, what but One, the Company's Orders ? And will my Obedience to them at a Time like this be admitted as an excuse for the Ruin of our Interests in Oude, if that should prove the Consequence ?

Yours most affectionately and truly

W H.

Coshall Chund has just told me that when his Agent applied to Nanna Fernees to establish a House at Poona, he slightly objected to it as being an English House, but yielded, exacting as a Condition from the Agent that his Master (Gopaul Dass) should apply to me to obtain a Remission of the heavy Impositions which the Maratta

pilgrims sustained at Illhabad and Gya, in the same Manner as I had relieved them at Benaris.

Macpherson had constantly urged compliance with the Company's orders to reinstate Bristow in the Oudh Residency. In spite of the convincing reasons here given, Hastings at last yielded.

## LVIII

*Allipoor**Wednesday [? August 1782].*

My dear Friend,

How are you to Day? Mrs H. and every Individual of this Family share in the Interest which I have in this Enquiry.

I send you the Draft of an Answer to all the Madras Letters now on Hand, except to Points of little Moment. Their Correspondence with the Nabob is certainly improper, and their Conduct as it appears in their own proceedings highly culpable, particularly in the Story of the Jemmeatdar blown from a Gun for refusing to submit to Force and to compell his Appearance before Captain Campbell. But I see no good in saying so, nor perhaps would it be right to pass it by in silent Acquiescence. If they will read the Article of our Agreement with the Nabob which speaks of the Mode of accommodating and clearing his private Debts, they will find it amount to a Refutation of their Scheme to pay with Assignments of a desolated Country the Debts contracted upon it in a long Period of peace and existing Revenue, and they cannot be offended at our having condemned their Measures by Anticipation.

I have a Letter from Graham which says that Coote was at Carangoly on the 22nd, that they saw from a Hill the combined Army between Permacoil and Wandewash about 20 Miles distant, the French said to be between Hyder and Tippo: And they were marching to relieve

Wandewash, or hazard another Action. I feel some Apprehensions—of the Judgement, not the Heart—for the Event.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

The draft I suppose to be the letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Madras Select Committee, dated 5 August 1782 (*Madras Military Consultations*, 2 September, 1782, p. 2668). The Nawab of the Carnatic had already sent his diwan, Assam Khan, to Calcutta to induce the Bengal Government to cancel the assignment of the Carnatic Revenues. I do not think any jemadar was blown from a gun; and indeed it would have been so ineffective a mode of compelling his attendance that I am inclined to think some words such as 'threatened with being' were omitted in the hurry of writing. Even that, I think, is not to be found in the Madras proceedings, and was perhaps a story communicated by Assam Khan. Captain Campbell was the commandant at Nellore.

LIX

*Rishera*

12 September [1782]

*Thursday Morning.*

My dear Friend,

Whenever your Leisure will admit, and your Inclination prompt you to make a little Excursion as far as this pleasant Spot, I shall receive infinite pleasure in the Sight of you. Major Davy has related to me the last Conversation which he had with you, and dwelt on some points which you enjoined him to impart to me. On these I have much to say and something to determine.

Poor Hannay took from me some Heads of Enquiry, and promised me full Information concerning them. This passed some Time before he was taken ill, and I am persuaded that these or some other Memorandums will be found among his papers, which were intended for my

Use. His Executors will easily distinguish them. I cannot write to them, but as you will probably see them, I wish you would desire them to make a Search for any such Materials among his papers, that is to say for the Accounts of the Revenue of Oude and its Dependancies, and especially of Gooracpoor and Bareech ; and the Names and Characters of the Aumils *en actuel Employment* ; and other Circumstances of the State of that Province.

My Questions were distinct, and in writing. I cannot now recollect them. Poor Fellow ! He had a large Store of Knowledge, and as I know where it was likely to be tainted by the Effects of personal Opposition, it would be to me of the greatest Advantage to obtain possession of it.

Mrs Hastings, who I thank God continues Well, desires me to present her Compliments, and promises to give you something better than Sago and pishpash if you will be our Guest.

As for myself, I have almost forgot that I was sick. No Wonder. It would be miraculous if I was so now.

Adieu my best Friend.

Yours most affectionately,

W. H.

Rishera was on the west bank of the river two miles below Serampore (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 194).

'Hannay' was Colonel Hannay, who had formerly obtained from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh the revenue management of certain districts.

'Pishpash' is defined by *Hobson-Jobson* as rice-soup with small pieces of meat in it.

LX

*Below Gheretty.*

17 September 1782.

My dear Friend,

Having shifted my Lodgings I have taken the Liberty to make an Offer of the James Yacht

to Sir T. Mills in Case he should chuse to join our party, for which I hope I shall have your and Mr Wheler's Permission. My last Attack, tho' not very severe, has weakened me much. I hope and believe it is the last.

I bespeak your Recollection of the excellent Mordaunt. He has won my Heart for ever, and I cannot content myself with unsubstantial Kindness.

Mr Wheler will show you a Letter from Anderson. Return it to me. It says little, but satisfactory.

Adieu my best Friend,

Yours ever most affectionately

W. H.

For Sir Thomas Mills see *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 313 ; and in the same volume (p. 174) will be found an account of the services of Mordaunt at this time.

LXI

*Gooptapavia*  
■ *October 1782.*

My dear Friend,

I avail myself of the Opportunity of Mr McCaulay's Return to Calcutta to write to you. I have little to say, and am too weak to write much. My persevering Fever is returned, and has reduced me exceedingly ; but Campbell says it is a regular Tertian, and firmly believes that the Bark will now prove effectual to prevent its future Return. I wish it may, for I am heartily weary of it.

Bristow is arrived, and I shall keep him near me for a Day or Two, till I can give him his Instructions. In the mean Time I too shall move upwards. The N[abo]b has not yet answered his Letter but his Moonshee writes to Govindrow that he shall receive with pleasure any person who comes in my Confidence, and of my Choice—fresh proof of Middleton's Treachery !



[I have a long Letter from Anderson in answer to mine, which you will remember sent him the imputed Treaty between Nanna Farneess, the French and Hyder. Sindia gave no Credit to it, but expressed great Indignation at N[ana] F[arneess]'s procrastination, and deputed a Man express to Poona to demand the instant Ratification of the Treaty, or to declare that he should treat him as his Enemy, and join his Forces with ours against whosoever should oppose it. } I cannot send the Letter because it is in my Boat ; nor have I yet read it.

May God bless you, my dear Friend. I am ever the most affectionate of Yours.

W. HASTINGS.

I shall go as high as Nuddea.

'Campbell' is Dr. Daniel Campbell, who was in medical charge of Hastings on this trip up the river.

Hastings had at length given way and agreed to send Bristow back to Lucknow as Resident.

Regarding the Maratha negotiations, see Hastings to Anderson, 25 August and 4 December, 1782 (Gleig, ii. 544-545).

LXII

*Nuddeea*

5 October 1782.

My dear Friend,

Here I am fixed for some Time, I hope at the Period of my Travels, for Reasons which I will give you when I am stronger. Our Situation is the point of Intersection formed by the Channels of the three Rivers, a very pleasing View, and its Position equally promising in point of Health.

To morrow I dismiss Bristow. My Instructions must be verbal, for it would require a more collected Attention to write them than I could yet exert without hurting myself, and Campbell is daily repeating that my only

sure Way of returning to Business is present Idleness. Indeed I feel it, for even the Exertion of Voice required for common Conversation inflames and depresses me beyond Conception. The written Instructions shall follow in due Time.

I have written Bristow's introductory Letter to the Nabob, that is little Davy has the dictated Draft; another to Hyder beg, and another to Palmer.

I regret my Distance from you, because there are some Matters on which I want to talk with you, which cannot be committed to an intermediate Channel: but Campbell gives me Hopes that I am in no Danger of another Relapse, and that in a Fortnight I shall be as stout as I ever was. In the mean Time I think to send little Davy to Calcutta, and a Budget with him.

My last Fit was certainly a regular One, and the Bark, which I have since eat like a Stag, has had for the first Time its Effect.

Adieu my good Friend. Do not mention my Letter, for I write only to you.

Yours ever most affectionately

W. H.

LXIII

*Nuddeea*

■ *October 1782*

My dear Friend,

I cannot dispense with the Acknowledgements which are due to your late Communications in your Letters to me and Rd. S[uliva]n. I never read any Thing which pleased me more than your Letter to Lord McCartney—a paltry Fellow.

Send away the Lively as soon as you please; but let me know when you fix the Date of her Dispatch.

I never possessed so tranquil a Mind about Business.

I am well satisfied with each Day's Work though I know it not as if I had labored through it myself; Our Sentiments accord with so wonderful an Exactness. This by the by is the Extreme of Vanity.

I date my complete Victory over my Fever from the 5th or 7th Day, and ever since I have had the rabid Hunger of a Wolf, and all my Languor has left me. I want only Strength, and was much humbled by an Attempt two Days ago to walk.

Mrs Hastings, whom I may surely proclaim my Guardian Angel, and the Restorer of my Life, is well, with occasional, but slight Ailings. If she sickens, I shall relapse. I wish you could divide yourself—you might, and make two decent personages—and One half of you come here. Our Mornings are *bleak*, and the Days pleasant, and fast improving.

Adieu my best Friend,

Yours ever

WARREN HASTINGS.

The letter to Macartney I suppose to be the draft of the letter from the Bengal Government to the Madras Select Committee of 19 October, 1782, strongly hinting that the latter body should remedy the evils loudly complained of by the Nawab of the Carnatic.

LXIV

*Nuddeea*

9 October 1782.

My dear Friend,

I have received a packet from Bombay which on the instant Glimpse of its Contents affected all my Sensations in the Manner of an electrical Stroke. I suppose you have it also; but nevertheless I send it you, and without a Comment. Indeed I can make none upon it. I would give 10,000 Rupees that

I were in Calcutta, or you here, at this Instant. But for what? Yet it will abridge the Term of my Absence, although I am moving gently on. We have discovered the Spot which We had chosen for a fixed position, to be foul and unwholesome, and annoyed with offensive Smells from the Shore, and Blasts of hot Wind. These have affected Mrs Hastings' Health, and therefore induced Us to, look out for a better Situation. Her Health will determine my Motions, for while that requires my Attention to it, not all the Rockinghams and Richmonds that live or have lived shall draw it from her.

Sir T. Mills breakfasted with me. I gave him the News to read, and it fixed his Eye to the Foot of the Mainmast, rivetted there for the Space of Ten Minutes. I still continue in equal Astonishment.

Adieu, my most valued Friend. I continue to eat like a Brute, and to gather Strength proportionably.

Yours ever

WARREN HASTINGS.

I forgot to tell you that I have dismissed Bristow, who went off post on Monday Morning at Daybreak. I gave him verbal Instructions of near 3 Hours Length from Heads which I had prepared, and gave him those Heads to copy. They shall be written at large, and sent in Time to reach him before he reaches Lucnow. He had prepared some Questions, but I had anticipated every Thing that he wished to know my Sentiments upon, and went away, confident, as he affirmed, that there was not an Emergency for which he was not amply provided to answer my fullest Wishes. I am sanguine in my Dependence upon him.

The news from Bombay was, I think, the fall of North.

LXV

*Saturday 11 o'clock.*

[Endorsed : '12 October 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

Mrs Hastings is much better, and talks of sitting up to Dinner, but not in a State in which she would chuse to be seen, nor strong enough to continue long from her Bed. I will therefore avail myself of the Liberty which I know you would wish me to assume, of leaving you to add to the Chearfulness of the larger Society of the Morning Star, and shall hope to see you in the Evening, and of our party in the Feelcherra, if you feel yourself disposed to so invalidish an Entertainment.

Yours affectionately,

W. HASTINGS.

LXVI

*Allipoor*

10 A.M.

My dear Friend,

I am vexed to the Heart that I did not open my Letters of which I had a large parcel from Town, while you were with me ; and I have been since busy with Thomson on other silly Matters which could as well have waited. There are 4 Letters for you, all from your Friend James McP[herson]. I have a little One, very brief, and very pithy, which tells me that you and I shall certainly be recalled, and immediately, and that the new Ministry have already betrayed Symptoms of Division. I don't believe the first. Tho' the most dispassionate of all my Correspondents yet [he] is too near to be a cool Judge.

Yours ever and ever

W. H.



This letter and the following one refer to the news received from James Macpherson of the fall of North's Cabinet, dated 22 March, 1782, and sent by special overland express. 'The whole power of the state', he wrote, 'has fallen into the hands of our political enemies', and 'the removal of you all will be the least of their vengeance' (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29153, f. 468). The date must be mid-October, 1782 (see Forrest, *op. cit.* iii. 900).

LXVII

*past II*

[Endorsed : 'On receipt of papers of  
22<sup>d</sup> March 82'.]

My dear Friend,

I send you my own Letter. I am not quite pleased with it. It places me in a Character and State too humiliating to the Sense which I entertain of my own Integrity. I am vexed at the prospect which he presents, but it is on other Grounds ; and if I suffer on those my Separation from the Service shall be my own Act, tho' not intended by others. His Letter is dated the 22nd March. We know that in May no Change nor Talk of Change had taken place.

Do ride out to Allipoor to morrow, and let me talk with you. I am vexed.

Yours most truly and affectionately

W. H.

LXVIII

*Sunday Morning.*

My dear Friend,

I am wrong. The Act of Parliament will admit of a Construction directly forbidding the Chief Justice to receive any Salary besides that allotted him by the Act. So what I have written is Nonsense. All I can say for myself is that I did not conceive myself

offending against the Act when I proposed the Appointment and I am justified in my Error by High Authority, for the Breach of a Law is not lessened by the Power or Number of the Offenders, nor is it shared in small portions amongst them ; And the old General is now liable to Dismission by a Vote of Parliament and to prosecution by any Informer. Finish the Draft as you will.

Yours ever affectionately

W. H.

Impey's acceptance of the post of superintendence of the Company's courts was attacked as a direct violation of the Regulating Act, s. 22, prohibiting members of Council or judges from accepting any fees or salary other than those laid down by the Act.

'The old General' is Coote, to whom had been given extra allowances amounting to £18,000 *per annum*. This formed charge xiii. of the Impeachment.

LXIX

*Monday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'October 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I return you the Draft of our Answer to Sir E. Impey. Does Mr W[heler] approve, and will he sign it? If not I think it should yet be cut down to his Opinion. I like it as it stands, particularly the 2 paragraphs which I have marked.

Mr W[heler] might with propriety, and in Consistency ought, but it matters not, to acknowledge that he never suspected any legal Impropriety in the Appointment or Salary ; for in his original Objections he mentioned none, but shewed manifestly that he had not an Idea of any, by the Inference supposed by him that it would defeat the *Spirit* and Intention of the Act.

I have read his Minute carefully ; but though I agree with you that it is well, that is, neatly written, it is totally false in Reasoning ; particularly in that part which logically affirms that if the D[istrict?] Courts were illegal the Chief Justice could not make them legal, and that if they were legal they could exist in Defiance of him. As applied to my Conclusions this is false Argument ; for I offered no Opinion of the Legality, but of public Opinion, which I said would be satisfied of the Legality of the Courts, and of the Safety of their exercising their Functions, if he was at their Head.

Don't answer me.

You will see the Select Committee Letter just arrived from Madras. I unfortunately read it going to Bed, and slept ill. I make no serious comments on it, but that I yet hope that Sir Edward meant to deceive Lord McCartney and blind Souffrein, and take him or Trincomalee by Surprise. My Hope is a very faint One ! He will miss Bickerton.

As to his Lordship, he is consistent. His Conduct has been ever against the Grain, and I fear he has been influenced by Knaves in Grain.

Yours Yours [*sic*]

W. H.

For Impey's correspondence with the Council see E. B. Impey's *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey*, pp. 264, etc.

The news from Madras was that Hughes insisted on proceeding to Bombay to refit his squadron, although Bengal had written (24 September) urging him to winter at Calcutta instead. Trincomalee had been captured by Hughes in 1781, but had been lost to the French on 31 August, Hughes arriving two days too late to save it. Then followed a severe and indecisive naval action, in which Hughes' ships were so knocked about as to make docking them indispensable.

LXX

*Barrasett**Saturday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'October 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

Stables was with me when I received back the Minute with your Answer. I shewed him both, but he seemed not quite satisfied with the former, and advised me to defer the Delivery of it for a few Days. I shall carry it with me to Town on Monday, and We will then discuss this point. I have Hopes that it is already become unnecessary so far [as] it concerned the Maratta War. Young Anderson has received a Letter from his Brother which I have desired him to carry round. The Sum of it is that all Differences are settled, the Treaty to be executed again by Sindia with the Peshwa's Seal, which he has, and dated with the Day of the Delivery, and that the old Treaty be signed by Nanna Farnees, and the Peshwa's Seal affixed to it at Poona for more Validity. This Scheme is to save time. You will read young Anderson's Opinion on this Arrangement in the enclosed Letters which you will like. I have no Doubts of his being right. He is a fine Lad. Do see him when you are well enough.

The rest of the Debates are Stuff, and mere Marattacisms.

I am sorry to hear from Thompson that you are not quite well, and mend slowly. For God's Sake, think not of the Water. I shall see you on Monday, and have Thoughts of taking Somebody to introduce me, lest you should not know me.

Adieu.

Yours ever most affectionately,

W. H.

I was most pleasingly surprized with Mr Stables' Company the other Day at Breakfast. I promise myself great Comfort from his becoming One of Us. What a pity that such a Group should be broken ! For I do not think that a Knot of more rational or better tempered Men (—I speak for myself at least) could be selected from all England.

I cannot find young Anderson's Letter and expect that I have sent it back with his Brother's. It contained nothing more than an Opinion that either Narroo Shev Deo had the ratified Treaty, or that Sindia had it, with his Reasons. I believe it.

Stables had recently arrived as a member of the Bengal Council. He had formerly served in the Bengal Army, but owed his appointment in the present case to his kinship with John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury, and manager of Indian affairs under the North Ministry. For the minute, etc., cf. Forrest, iii. 900.

## LXXI

*Allipoor*  
*Tuesday Evening.*

My dear Friend,

I have read Farmer's Letter with very great Pleasure, and one part of it with some pain, almost fancying it addressed to myself. The most pleasing part of it is its Evidence (if I required it) of your unremitted Attention to my Interest and Credit. I fear Mr Sullivan required such an Expositor to give him the clear Distinction of my Concern in the Maratta War. Farmer has ably done it.

[This Morning I sent Two Bombay Packets as soon as I had read them, to Auriol for your and Mr W[heler]'s Perusal. I have others from Madras, which I was prevented by Interruptions from finishing. The Sum of the



Bombay Letters is that they were determined on a grand plan for the Attack of Mangalore, but the Season being too far advanced, had fixed on November for its Execution : And for this Reason they had ordered the Detachment which had been sent to Abington back to Bombay. This only seems strange, as Tillecherry is not 100 Miles from Mangalore, and an easy March by Land. Goddard had stated 1500 Europeans and 6 Battalions as necessary for the Expedition, which was equal to a Declaration against it.

I am most affectionately Yours

W. H.

Farmer's letter is appended. He was a Bombay servant, who had been employed in Maratha affairs, but resigned in (I think) 1780. The Bombay letter regarding the projected attack on Hyder's Malabar possessions is that dated 27 August, 1782. ]

*Enclosure*

W. FARMER TO [JOHN MACPHERSON]

*Beckenham in Kent*

7 June 1781.

My dear Friend,

[Mr Sullivan delivered to me the note you wrote from Portsmouth and I shall follow the contents of it implicitly ; he appointed me to meet him one Sunday shortly after my arrival here and I had a long conference with him in presence of your friend Mr Pechell relative to Mharatta affairs. Those who are inimical to your friend Mr H, and the Madrasers who wish to exculpate themselves from the Invasion of Hyder affect to attribute that Invasion to the System of Politicks observed with regard to the Mharattas, and they also attribute that System wholly to Mr H. I believe that our situation with respect to the Mharattas greatly induced

Hyder to venture on his invasion of the Carnatick, but it is very unjust to assert that we were brought into this situation by the Conduct or measures of Mr H. There are Two Epochas in the History of our Mharatta connections which merit particular attention ; the first is in the commencement of them in the Year '75, when the Government General should either have pursued the plan of the Government of Bombay whilst we were disembarrassed from all other Enemies, and whilst the general State of affairs was favourable to it, or they should wholly have dropped all Mharatta connections and all Pretensions derived from them, or have made an arrangement something satisfactory to Ragoonath Row and consistent with the Views of the Company in the West of India ; that they neglected to do this, it is well known, is not the fault of Mr H, or that they were lulled into a temporary Security by the Ministers, who at the hour of concluding the Treaty of Proonder were negotiating for the aid of the French, and deceived Upton with specious articles which they never did or meant to perform. The Second Epocha is the Period of the last Treaty made with Ragoba which led to the unfortunate Expedition towards Poonah ; the Government of Bombay then had or ought to have had sufficient conviction, that all the pretended friends of Ragoonath Row meant nothing but their own interests and though they would have admitted him nominally to a Rank in the Government yet that the effectual Powers of it should be placed with them ; with this knowledge their line of Policy should have been to have connected themselves with some one of the leading and effectual Powers in the State on the ground of their views and interests, and have made Ragoonath Row recede from the vain pretensions founded in his speculative rights, or if this could not have been effected, the Government of Bombay should have waited the arrival

of Goddard's detachment and have acted in conjunction with it against the then Mharatta Government, on our own footing, disconnected with the Pretensions of Ragoonath Row ; we should then have begun in '78 what we only entered on in '80 and at a time when the Poonah party were less connected than in 1780 ; instead of this the Government of Bombay misled by the assurances of poor Mostyn, resumed the romantick projects of blindly asserting the rights of Ragoonath Row and declaring to all the world that the English meant to reestablish him in the possession of those rights ; such an attempt and such a Line of Policy naturally united against us all the leading chiefs of the Mharatta Empire, and all the Powers who had cause to be alarmed at our ambition ; as they wanted also to engross the whole honour of this project and would not wait for the aid of Goddard, their attempt was attended with the ill success that might be expected. Mr H. surely is not answerable for their measures, which I believe were the reverse of his opinion and advice, nor for the horrid disgraces which were the consequences of them, and which by effacing that sacred opinion of our arms conduced more than anything, to the confederacy subsequently formed against us, a part of which was the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder.

The foregoing is in general terms the substance of what I represented to S. and P. as the best ground of defence that appeared to me against the blame that is levelled at Mr H. for the consequences of what are unjustly termed his Mharatta measures ; it is very unfortunate that all he has done was the consequence of the conduct of others and not any original plan of his own. Sullivan seemed very well pleased with me, and much obliged by the information I gave him, and made me great promises of his aid on my return to India. I communicate with

nobody but him and shall ever continue to furnish him with any aid and intelligence in my power that may lead to the support of Mr H. whose Interests I also feel are yours, not that I imagine there is any great want of support, as by all accounts the Ministers seem determined to trust the fate of India in his Hands.

I have been three weeks in and about London but have not yet seen Mr James McPherson, partly owing to bad health, and partly to being in the Country. I shall however see him soon, but unless it may be for your interests or for the interests of Mr H. I shall not court his introduction to the Ministers. To tell you the truth, my friend, I begin to feel very little desire to follow you to the East Indies, and I see very little prospect, if I had that desire, of doing it to my satisfaction. My health was ever very bad in India and it would require a very long residence in Europe so to reestablish it as to give me a hope of being well there ; [it seems also to me that as we cannot maintain ourselves both against Hyder and the Mharattas, that we must at any Price detach the latter and that Price I think will hardly be less than all our late acquired possessions and all our Views in the West of India.] In that case what I have here will be better than anything I can attain to at Bombay. As my means are small my plan must be Economy and a retirement, at least from the great World, and an acquaintance with his Majesty's Ministers can form no part of such a plan. ✓

My friend, I have forgot to congratulate you on the high and honourable reward you have reaped for merits that few are so well acquainted with as myself. My heart was quite glad when I heard it at Lisbon. You must now have a little more management and attention about many matters, as your plans and connections are all vast and expensive. Remember how uncertain are



all political Situations. ✓ I think you may very honourably do a great deal ; you must get some trusty person to look after your money matters and to keep your Expenses etc. a little in order. If I was with you I would do these things for you. There is also another very essential point—to have a person of confidence to manage your remittances here, for hard earned fortunes I find have been lost for want of this. If I stay in England I will gladly take this trouble for you, and in full assurance of this you may put [my] name as one with any other you may think fit. ✓

Remember me very respectfully to Mr Hastings. I do not think that I should have quitted India so soon but that I perceived in Hornby a total indisposition towards me which I find since my arrival in England was occasioned by jealousies infused into him by the late Mr Mostyn on account of my corresponding with Mr H. from Poonah. It is certain that I always differed in opinion with M. who could see no other line in our measures with the Mharattas but a blind connection with Ragobah and therefore he supposed I wrote against that Connection. There is a very honest friend of mine, Captain William Palmer, a confidant of Mr Hastings. I recommend him to your intimacy and am now going to sit down to write to him.

Yours ever and affectionately,

W. FARMER.

•  
✓  
LXXII

*Tuesday.*

My dear Friend,

Read, correct, enlarge or retrench the accompanying Draft of an additional Article of my Instructions to Bristow.

Middleton has sent Bills on Gopauldass's House for



21 Lacks of Rupees for which he has given him Assignments on the Country, and those the Nabob has resumed. This is what Gopauldass partly writes, and his Gomasteh the rest. This was Johnson's Trick. What a Fellow ! I shall lay the part[iculars] before the Board.

I have visited the old General. See him, but enquire first whether he can see you.

Yours most affectionately,

W. H.

The foregoing must have been written in the last week of October, 1782. Coote arrived from the Carnatic on 21 October.

Johnson was Middleton's assistant at Lucknow.

LXXIII

*Noon.*

[Endorsed : 'December 1782'.]

My dear Friend,

I return you my Lord's Letter. I do not like it ; but I read nothing in it that strikes my Apprehensions.

I will send the Draft to Mr Stables, and desire him to read it either with you or me, that he may at the same Time receive the proper Comments upon it.

And I am uneasy at what you said respecting R[ichard]d Sullivan. On every point of this Kind I have but One Answer, and I recommend it to you not only for my own Sake as the present Rule of your Conduct, but as a fixed principle to form into a Habit for your own, against the Time when you may fill the place which I now hold, and with Advantages which I want. Deliberate well ; resolve with Decision, and completely, not by Halves : But when your Resolution is once formed, and in Execution, never admit even a Thought of withdrawing it ; but persist in

it, even though in itself it should be wrong, if not ruinously wrong.

Yours affectionately,

W. H. ✓

The subject of this letter is the complaints of the Nawab of the Carnatic against the Madras Government. The concluding paragraph seems to allude to the difference of opinion which now appeared between Hastings and Macpherson (see the editor's *Warren Hastings and the Assignment of the Carnatic*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xl. 392).

LXXIV

MAJOR DAVY TO JOHN MACPHERSON

*Saturday 1 o'clock.*

My dear Sir,

Herewith I return Mr Bristow's Letter one paragraph of which I am apt to think the Governor does not clearly understand as you will perceive by the Manner in which he has set out in the accompanying paper of Memorandums which he dictated to Me and directed Me to enclose them to you for the purpose therein mentioned. Bristow's meaning in the paragraph quoted in the Memorandum I take to be—that he may not be deemed accountable for any deficiency which may hereafter happen in the Collections of the Jauidauds granted to Gopauldas, and his apprehensions on this Score appear to be grounded on the following Circumstance,—When these Arrangements were made, Mr Middleton or Mr J[ohnson], or both, became joint Securities with the N[abo]b to Gopauldas, and gave him a Bond or something like it, for that purpose. Upon the removal of those Gentlemen they wished to be liberated from this Obligation, and therefore caused the Jauidauds granted to Gopauldas to be put into the hands of Almaus who immediately became Security to Gopauldas for the

amount, *in lieu of Middleton or Johnson or Both*, whose Obligatory Agreement or Bond was given up. Thus Gopauldas lost the counter Security of M and J, but he got Almaus's in exchange, with which he was satisfied. Now Bristow has deemed it necessary in order to curtail the power of Almaus, to take the Jauidauds granted to Gopauldass out of his, Almaus's hands, and to put them into those of other Aumils. Of course Almaus's Security to Gopauldass, given in lieu of M's and J's, no longer exists, and honest Gopaul is fairly schemed out of his counter Security unless Bristow, *by whose Act* it has been done, becomes that counter Security in the place of Almaus who formerly stood in the Room of M and J, but this Bristow does not choose to do,—and therefore says,—‘I do not think my private fortune should be pledged for the performance of the Engagement to Gopauldass, when my intention is to obtain an object of great publick Utility’—*id est*—by the Act which has deprived Gopauldass of the counter Security of Almaus.—In other words Bristow does not think he ought to be accountable to Gopauldass for deficiencies if any should arise. This I take to be his meaning, and not that he has mixed his own private concerns with those of the publick, as it strikes the Governr. I endeavoured to explain, but the State of our poor Governor's Mind affected by that of his Body, rendered it impracticable.

He has directed me to enclose to you also Mr Johnson's Reply to the Board, with one further Remark from him upon it. That instead of considering this Loan or Advance upon the N[abo]bs Resources as a bold and uncommon Stretch of Credit deserving, as the first attempt, the most pointed and particular Attention, and Encouragement from the Government; he considers it as stated by Johnson as a most impudent and insolent Attempt, and, being the first, that it demands the most pointed and

particular Inattention and Discouragement from the Government. He desires me to tell you also that this Bill Business has oppressed his Mind for a long time past, and that he is most earnestly solicitous to have it brought to a conclusion, and that he as earnestly intreats you to take that trouble upon you.

I am, my Dear Sir

Most faithfully Yours

D. DAVY.

'Jauidaud' seems a corruption of *jāidād*, an assignment or grant of land.

*Memorandum from the Governor.*

I totally disapprove of Mr Bristow's mixing his own private Concerns with the publick, if it is that which he means when he says—'I do not think my private fortune should be pledged for the performance of the Engagement to Gopaul Dass when my intention is to obtain an Object of great publick Utility.' If he does I declare I never will give my Consent to the Interference of the Board for the Recovery of any Money which he may have hazarded in that way, or in any other.

With regard to the Bills which Mr Johnson has sent to the Board, my Opinion is as follows :—

First, That it is an unauthorised and most impolitick transaction ;

Secondly, That it is an attempt to impose upon the Board,—first by its being stated in the discharge of the Nuwaub's Arrears to the Company, and secondly, because it appears from Mr Johnson's own Account to be no more than a transfer of so much of the Debts from the N[uwau]b to Gopaul Dass, still payable from the N[uwau]b's Funds, which is so far precisely the same as if it had remained upon its former footing of a Debt payable by the N[uwau]b, with these additional Dis-



advantages that the Company's faith is pledged as security for the Repayment to Gopaul Dass, that the N[uwau]b is to pay an Interest the Rate of which Mr Johnson has suppressed but which I know, and will report to the Board to be two per cent per mensem or twenty four per cent per annum.

Thirdly,—That by stating the Banker's Receipts to be made in Hauli Siccas which are of the basest Currency, and making them payable in Calcutta in Sicca Rs. it will appear that the Company are Gainers by the Exchange, but knowing the attention of Gopauldass to his own Interest, and Mr Johnson's indifference to the Company's, I presume, with a moral certainty of not being mistaken, that the contrary will prove to be the case whenever it shall be deeply investigated : I mean, either that by some private stipulation Gopauldass is to be allowed to make up his Account of his Collection in the current standard Sicca of Oude, or that he is to be allowed the difference ; or that the Batta and Hoondeawar specified in the Bills are higher than they should be.

Fourthly. That on the Close of this Transaction our Government will be troubled and perplexed by Mutual Appeals about the settlement of Gopaul das's Account of his Collections ; in that each party may affirm what they please, nor is it possible that the Board can have any clear Evidence to decide between them, and again that the N[uwau]b will object to the exorbitant Interest which he is made liable to pay, and which I am clear he knows nothing of, and that Gopauldass understands it to be due from the Company, and that in any case during the present insolvent state of the N[uwau]b every charge incurred by Us immediately and carried to his Credit for the eventual payment, is precisely the same as a positive Charge incurred by the Company. All these objections I wish to be stated as the Objections of the



Board, if the Board sees them in the Light that I do, or that they will suffer them to stand as mine. After this let Horshhaul Chund Gopauldass's Agent be called before the Board ; let him be asked if he will sign his Acceptance of the Bills, with an Option intimated to him to sign or to decline it : if he accepts them the Transaction is so far advanced, and fixed by so many relative Arrangements that I fear it will not be safe to insist on its being annulled ; and Mr Bristow in that case should be directed both to give every aid and support to Gopaul das's Agents for the recovery of the Sums assigned on their respective Jaudauds, and to appoint proper Checks on his Collections that they do not exceed these Sums.

If Horshhaul Chund shall refuse to accept the Bills, or desire to be released from the Obligation, his Reasons should be required and recorded.

He should be desired to state Circumstantially the Nature of all the Conditions of this Engagement and questioned concerning the following points :—the Date or Dates from which the Interest is to commence, the Specie in which his Collections are to be severally made, the difference of Exchange between Hauli Siccas and Chullus Siccas or Siccas coined in the time of Suja u'dowla, the form of the Company's Security given by Mr Johnson, and whether he understands the Interest to be due from the Company or from the Nuwaub.

Also the current rate of Exchange should be ascertained, either by him or by Mr Crofts, between Oude Siccas and Calcutta Siccas for Bills payable in Calcutta, and Mr Crofts should be directed with the result of all these Inquiries, to draw out a comparative Account of the probable produce of these Bills received in Calcutta and of the same amount supposing it to be received in the ordinary and regular course of payment. Again in the case of Horshhaul Chund's not accepting the Bills

Mr Bristow should be directed to settle the Account of the Collections made by him and replace what may remain of the debt on its regular footing in the best manner he can ; this must be left to his Discretion. All this ought to be done and no time should be lost in it. I am not well enough to go to Calcutta but I wish Mr Mcpherson would take the trouble to carry this Business through immediately as he will be Master of the Subject, either adopting the plan which I have recommended or substituting any other which the Board and he may prefer,—let it be settled any way, I don't care,—it ought not to remain in suspense.

This letter and memorandum are acknowledged in Macpherson's letter to Hastings, dated Sunday night (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29157, f. 338).✓

The Oudh currency seems, like that of Bengal at this time, to have consisted of the standard coin (sikka rupees), current rupees passing in the bazaars (*hali* or *hauli* sikkas), and rupees coined in previous reigns (*chullus*, or as I suppose we should read, *julus* sikkas). Cf. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, pp. 111, etc.

*Batta* is the premium or discount at which one coin exchanges for another ; and *hundiawar* is the premium charged for remittances from one place to another.

## LXXV

*Barrasutt*

*Sunday Morning.*

[Endorsed : 'Supposed to have been written in the beginning of 1783'.]

My dear Friend,

Little Davy will have given you in long Detail my Sentiments concerning Johnson's Bills. I intended to have accompanied them with a Note from myself, but I grew tired and sick, merely to entreat that

you would hasten the Conclusion of this Business in any Way, for any is better than Suspense ; and I now earnestly press it. I think that the paper which Davy has sent you contains a Review of every part of the Subject and if what I have proposed does not meet your Ideas, it will at least serve as a Text for better. Let Mr Wheler understand that our Communication of this Subject arose from Bristow's Letter. I would avoid every Appearance of Reserve or Indifference.

I am uneasy that I do not hear of Mr Stables's Return, because I want the Military Arrangements to be closed, and if the old General does not spoil it by Correction, he has written, or somebody for him, one of the most creditable Minutes that he ever set his Name to.

On the first Subject of Bristow's Letter I said nothing to Major Davy, because this was a part of my Instructions to Bristow which I have kept, and enjoined him to keep, in inviolate Secrecy, with the Exception only of ourselves, and Thompson who wrote them for me.

If I had been in Br[istow]'s place, I should have caused Almass to be instantly seized, deprived of all his Offices, and tried for his Life ; and at the same Time have required Colonel Cummings to march into the Doaub, where I would have had new Aumils appointed. If A[lmass] is still at Lucnow he ought still to do this ; but not knowing more of this Business than what Bristow has slightly—too slightly—mentioned in his Letter to you, I cannot say positively what he should do. But I can say positively what he ought not to have done. He certainly ought not to have given him his own pledge to the vile Engagements which have been concluded with him.

I send for your Perusal a Letter from Richard Johnson. Return it to me. I have promised to recommend his Request in the Conclusion of it to the Board. I hope you will see the propriety of this in the Light that I do. I wish

to have your early Opinion on this, as you know the Time is short.

Sullivan has repeated to me from his Memor[andum] your Message, and read your Friend's Letter which I like. I have much to say to you upon the rest which I keep till I see you, S. having promised me in your Name that Pleasure on Tuesday. You will find my Carriage waiting for you at Dumdumma.

If you have read Halhed's pamphlet, pray send it to me. I have promised poor old Ross a Sight of it, and he has written to me for it. It will be a Comfort to him to see such a proof of his Son in Law's Ability and Attachment.

I am outrag[e]ous to be rendered by these repeated Attacks so useless a Member of Society. . . . (*Excuse these Scratches. They cover an unmanly Complaint; but really my Situation is a mortifying One.*)

I am now well again, and will, if I can, continue so. Your coming will contribute to it.

Adieu, my valuable Friend

Yours ever

W. H.

The italicised passage is written in between four deleted lines. The letter seems to refer to Bristow's letters to Council, dated 4 November, *ap. Secret Consultations* 22 November, 1782, in which he reports that Almas Ali Khan had temporarily withdrawn from obedience to the Nawab, but had later returned to Lucknow on assurances of personal safety; and ■ January, *ap. Secret Consultations* 3 March, 1783, relating to the matter of the bankers' bills.

LXXVI

*Monday Morn: just Ten.*

My dear Friend,

I have read yours of yesterday, and hope this will arrive in Time to reach you in Council.

I must entreat you to look over my propositions, and



at least adopt such as may not affect the Arrangements which Bristow has made concerning Johnson's Bills, if you determine on accepting them. The Loss will be great, and the Debt contracted on [them?] be a heavy Charge on the next Year. It will be a criminal Charge in the Case of one Event. Yet do that, rather than embarrass Bristow.

I had B[ristow]'s Letter but had not opened it, nor knew that I had it. Indeed he has done Wrong, and trust me, he will repent it.

Let Johnson's recall stand on the proceedings and let it be resolved that the whole of this Transaction remain till it is closed, before the report of it be made to the Court of Directors. This is but fair and regular. We have always done so, and I told Johnson as much. I meant not, though my Expression being hurried implied it, that what is said of him in the Consultations should be erased from them. It cannot. If no Notice is taken of it in the General Letter it is sufficient.

My Mind is not uneasy about Affairs at Home, but my own Inactivity here.

I wait anxiously to see you ; but you have puzzled me by the Note on your Letter which leaves me in Uncertainty whether you come to Day or to morrow.

We shall do more real Business here than in Council.

Let me beg of you to attend to my first paragraph.

Yours most affectionately,

W. H.

Pray let me know when the Harcarra arrives.

LXXVII

*Friday Morning.*

My dear Friend,

I am come to Town. I have sent for Auriol, and will endeavor to prepare some Matters



for the Board with his Assistance. Will you do me the Favor to meet me with the other Gentlemen of the Council this Morning. If Mr Stables is with you, I make the same Request to him. I shall be obliged to you for the Letter which I wrote to you about Johnson's Bills if you have not tore it.

Yours affectionately,

W. H.

LXXVIII

*Chinchura*

*Sunday.*

[Endorsed : 'Written in  
April or May 1783'.]

My dear Friend,

I send you the enclosed Letter in the Hopes that it will entertain you. I expect no great Things from Turner's Embassy, but it will at least gratify Curiosity, and I am pleased to see it unfold a Store of fine Talents which amply qualify him to proceed in the Undertaking, and which his Modesty has hitherto concealed.

I am well, and affectionately Yours

W. HASTINGS.

Lieutenant Turner, a kinsman of the Governor-General, was about to go on a mission to Tibet. See Hastings to Mansfield, 10 March, 1784 (Gleig, iii. 161).

LXXIX

*Alipoor*

[?] *Sun[day] Evening.*

[Endorsed : 'Written in  
June or July 1783'.]

My dear Friend,

I have ordered Auriol not to call a Meeting of the Board to morrow, so that you will not

have occasion to make a Sacrifice of your Health to your Duty. I can employ the Morning in a very useful purpose to which I had destined this had not the Collector of Baugulpoor furnished me with Materials for a Work of Speculation in which I idled away 3 Hours, and which will do me no good nor Credit. How are you this Evening ?

Yours ever affectionately

W. H.

LXXX

*Gheretty*  
*Thursday Noon.*

[Endorsed : ' September 1783 '.]

I have not a Letter by the Crocodile, but the enclosed which gives me a Hope of yet receiving some Letters by that Dispatch. Your Letters are old, and I can draw little Information or Conjecture from them. But I read One of yours with very great pleasure as it presented to me that Ease of Expression, Dignity of Manner, and Independency of Spirit, which constitute the Idea which I have ever entertained of the character of a true Descendant of the ancient Nobility.

I am not fond of asking Favors : but I am so anxious for David Anderson's Safety, I wish so much for his Return, and I am so well convinced that though his Modesty represses it, he would very reluctantly resign his office to any other than his Brother ; that I must make it my Request to you, and through you permit me to make it to Mr Stables, that his Application, which I send to Auriol by the Bearer of this, may be complied with. I would defer it till Monday ; but that I dread the Delay of a Day in such a Case.

I am sorry for your Indisposition. Mrs H. desires me

to thank you for your kind Remembrance of her. She is ill, and I am perhaps for that Reason, not very well.

Adieu.

Yours very affectionately and faithfully

W. HASTINGS.

I keep the Magazine to read it.

LXXXI

*Allipoor*

*Sat: Noon.*

My dear Sir,

I am exceedingly distressed by Information just given me that I was unknowingly and innocently the Cause of delaying your Dinner yesterday by your Expectation of me to be your Guest. I beg you to be assured that I was ignorant of any Engagement, and call to my Recollection what I ought to have understood as One, and should have gladly accepted, but that I, either from bad hearing or bad Attention, mistook what you said to me, and answered you, I believe, *à travers*. I could have waited for this Explanation till We met, but that I did not chuse to leave you even for a moment under the Impression that I could be indifferent to your Society, much less be guilty of a Rudeness in Return for Civility : And I really regret that I was not of your Party. ✓

I am very truly and affectionately Yours

W. HASTINGS.

LXXXII

[Endorsed : ' Supposed to have been written in Dec, 1783 '.]

My dear Sir,

I send you a packet of Letters which I have just received from your sensible and prophetic Friend James McPherson. Though not recent as the

Letters which I have already received, it contains much useful Matter which was wanting in them. But who are our Murmurers? I know none of the Expectants of our common Friends who have come to complain that They have been neglected. I am glad you have retired from the Bustle of a merry Xmas ; but I wish you a cheerful and social and healthy One.

Yours truly and affectionately

W. H.

LXXXIII

*Calcutta*

*27 January 1784.*

Dear Sir,

I must apologize for the Detention of the enclosed which I received on the 25th with the other Letters which I sent to Mr Macaulay to be forwarded to you on the same Day. I did not suspect the Urgency of its early Communication. I had some Scruples about the propriety of reading it at all, nor was it till this Morning that I did, or could read it. My Scruple was overcome by the Intimation given in his Letter to me, which is short, and only Reference, that he had locked up his great Arcana in a Celtic strong Box of which you have the Key. I have now just finished the Lecture and Study of the Letter with fifty Regrets occasioned by it ; one of which is, that you were too distant for Communication upon it ; another, that Our Policy hath been to this Time the very Reverse of that which your Friend has so ably displayed and recommended. He is a wise Man, an Epithet which you have heard me give to Mr Dupré, and I know scarce a third to whom I can apply it. I Will not lose a Moment now in transmitting it, and therefore I do not make any Remarks upon it. His plan is yet a good One, and may be executed in Time. I am

willing to execute my part of it, with little Inducement from any View that regards myself; but of this I may soon write more fully.

I am really grieved, while I am writing, to hear that your Complaints have returned upon you. I heartily wish you a speedy Amendment.

I am

Dear Sir

Your very affectionate and faithful

WARREN HASTINGS.

I add other Letters which came also with our joint Address.

Endorsed : ' Received at Coringy '—*i.e.* Coringa down the coast, Macpherson having at this time gone on a sea trip for the benefit of his health. The letter to which Hastings refers must be one from James Macpherson, though I am not aware of its contents. The ' Celtic strong Box ' is of course Gaelic.

LXXXIV

COPY OF A PRIVATE LETTER FROM WARREN HASTINGS TO  
EDWARD WHELER DATED LUCKNOW 3 MAY 1784

My dear Sir,

I dispatched a letter yesterday of some length to the Board, containing all the particulars of the flight and destination of the prince Mirza Jewan Bukht. It is unlucky and will be attended with much trouble, of which I shall have a larger share than I shall like. It will put the Nabob to an expence which he can ill afford, and it will of course interfere with my views of obtaining an early Completion of the Discharge of his debt. It will put the party at Delhi, who have possession of the king's person, on intrigues with Sics and Marattas, perhaps on worse projects. Sindia at any rate will be



jealous of the attempt to engage our Government in an interference with the affairs of Delhi, which he considers as his prescriptive property, and I shall not be surprised if the Fabricators of false letters, who have used such freedom with his name, shall forge incendiary letters in mine for the purpose of adding to the provocation. I suppose the people of Calcutta will be as busy too in their way. I rely, My dear Sir, on you to guard against any improper suggestions. It appears to me that the design of the Prince's visit is to persuade me to espouse his Father's cause against Afrâsiâb Cawn. I am resolved to have no concern in it, and give you this assurance with the request that you will use it, if you shall find it necessary for the refutation of any surmise of different intentions. Yet I will not answer for Consequences ; for I can imagine a thousand movements which may be made independant of me, and such as may be productive of events which I can as little command. I do not now ever believe it to be likely that any such shall happen.]

Have you not been a little precipitate in the resolution of disbanding five Regiments more of Seapoys before the return of Colonel Pearse, and in the active season of the year ? I read this Resolution in a letter from the General to Colonel Ironside. I hope we shall not want them. If this is a *point déterminée* [sic], or whenever it shall be determined, I wish you would resolve to render it effectual by dismissing the officers with the privates ; at least that you will make a question of it. It may be a hardship for officers of long service to be dismissed ; but they may be at least allowed to remain on half pay, and many will not be entitled even to that Indulgence.

I request that you will press the Board to decide on my letter written on the subject of Benaris, if an answer is not already written. The subject is more serious than you may conceive it.

I am with great attachment My dear Sir, your most affectionate and faithful

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

✓ With this should be compared Hastings' later letter to Wheler *ap. Gleig*, iii. 187, etc.

## LXXXV

*Benaris*

21 October 1784.

Dear Sir

I have received yours with the melancholy News of Mr Wheler's Death, an Event which, though expected, shocked me beyond Expression. How much I pity poor Mrs Wheler ! Your Attention to him in his last Moments, and the Kindness with which it was bestowed, must have been a Consolation to him, and ought to endear you to every One who had once the Happiness of knowing him. I shall hasten to join you in Calcutta, and shall be with you almost as soon as this Letter. I shall take my Leave of the Prince this Evening and set off in my Fealchehra to morrow Morning, nor shall I stop more than a few Hours in the Way. [The Prince has resolved on an Effort which will do him Credit, whatever may be the Result of it. He will begin his March on the 29th towards Furrukhabad, where he will remain until he can obtain his Father's Permission, or rather that of his Minister Afrâsiâb Cawn to repair to the presence. He will be attended by my Body Guard and 5 of the N[abo]b Vizier's Battalions to give his Negotiations the greater Weight : But he has promised not to move beyond the Protection of our Detachment at Futtehgur till he receives my first Letter from Calcutta advising it. His Route is through Fyzabad to Bahraich, where his Religion carries him, against my infidel

Remonstrances, to pay his Devotions at the Tomb of a famous Saint; and from thence to Litchnow, which is indeed in the Road from Fyzabad, to meet the Nabob Vizier. ✓

He merits Success, for a more amiable Character I have never known, neither in public nor private Life. Mahadjee Sindia has engaged to support the prince's Views with his own personal Solicitation, and will be at Agra before he reaches his first Destination. More I cannot say now. Indeed I scarce know what I write, I am in the Midst of so much Distraction.

I have sent a short Letter for the Court of Directors to Mr Boddam, announcing the News of poor Mr Wheler's Death; and no more.

I understand from Browne that you have it in Contemplation to dispatch an Express by Sea. I wish you much to do it.

I am impatient to take you again by the Hand, and cordially to assure you, as I now do, that I am, my dear Sir,

Your affectionate and Faithful Servant

WARREN HASTINGS.

Macpherson's letter reporting Wheler's death, which took place on 10 October, will be found in Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29166, f. 268. Hastings at this time was on his final visit to Oudh and Benares. [The prince was Mirza Jiwan Bakht (eldest son of Shah Alam), who had taken refuge from his father's court in Oudh. Cf. Hastings' letter to Wheler *ap.* Gleig, iii. 188, etc., and No. LXXXIV. *supra.*] *HT*

LXXXVI

*Sooksaugur*

31 October 1784.

Dear Sir

I am this Moment arrived at Sooksaugur, and believe it will give you a Pleasure to know that I am

not worse in my Health for my long Vacation. I wish I could have received as favorable a Report of yours. I suppose you will hardly have received my Letter written in Answer to yours from Benaris, as I find I have been too quick for the Post with other Letters of a little later Date. I shall make a short stay here till Mr Stables passes, whom I left yesterday at Rangamutty, and expect in 3 or 4 days more. I am my dear Sir

Your faithful and affectionate Servant

W. HASTINGS.

LXXXVII

*Allipoor*

*Saturday Noon.*

[Endorsed : '17 December 1784'.]

My dear Sir,

I wish much to converse with you privately upon a Matter which may eventually prove of more Concern to you than myself, but must be early brought before the Board for its Consideration and Determination upon it. Will it be agreeable and convenient for you to pass the Day with me to morrow at Allipoor for that purpose? If not, I will call upon you in Town on Monday Morning.

I am my dear Sir

Your affectionate and faithful Servant

W. HASTINGS.

The subject is revealed by the endorsement, 'Sindia's usurpation of the powers of *vaqueel ul motuluck*'. Sindia, aiming at the mastery of Northern India, had just taken control of Delhi, and, in order to strengthen his position, secured a grant from the Moghul of the office of Vicegerent of the Realm—much as Clive in earlier days had secured for the Company the grant of the *diwanni* of Bengal.

LXXXVIII

*Saturday.*

[Endorsed : 'January 1785'.]

My dear Sir,

Let not the following Application lose any of its Weight by not being personally made. Francis whose Zeal for his Friends is stronger than any Impulse directed by his own Interest has vehemently importuned me to obtain the Succession of one of his offices for Mr Turnbull, his Assistant : It seems they were both apprenticed to the same Master, to whom Francis is devoted by an Attachment peculiar to him. The office which he solicits for Mr Turnbull is that of Medicinal Inspector. May I hope that you will consent to grant it to him ?

Yours affectionately

W. HASTINGS.

I send you Dr F's Letter to me with the Memorandum which accompanied it. It will speak more powerfully than my Intercession.

Dr. Clement Francis, who had long served as surgeon to the Governor-General, was about to accompany him to England. Cf. *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 65.

LXXXIX

*Council Room.*

[Endorsed : 'January 1785'.]

My dear Sir,

I came here by Mistake, but Hay tells me that no Meeting of the Board was appointed. I have desired him therefore to attend you and Mr Stables with a few papers, which I have requested may pass in Circulation. The first is in your Hands.

The next Business is the Resignation of Major Sands,



and my Recommendation of Mr Phipps to succeed him. I shall esteem your Acquiescence in this a Kindness.

The next is a petition in Behalf of Major Toone, which I believe will meet your Own Wishes in his Favor ; but I shall consider it as done, if done, for myself, and thank you for it. I have sufficiently smoothed the Grounds of it.

I have some Communications which are more deliberative, and should have been glad to have talked to you upon them, but I am told that you are not at home. One regards Colonel Blair. He desires that the Board will decide on the Question of his Claim before the Board. You can better decide than I. The present State of the Question you will see in the 3 accompanying papers. If the Detachment at Futtehgur is to be kept there, that Command will be preferable to One of a Brigade : But before you resolve, I beg that I may again urge my Reasons for withdrawing it.

More I will not trouble you with now. Only permit me to remind you of the Sketch of military Reductions. If you approve them, one Morning will be sufficient to put them into Shape.

Yours affectionately

W. HASTINGS.

Sands, an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, was going home with Hastings. Toone had commanded the Body Guard and was also accompanying his patron ; the favour he was seeking was probably his promotion to lieutenant-colonel, which was duly made.

xc

*Tuesday Morning.*

[Endorsed : ' 10 January 1785 '.]

My dear Sir

Have you thought of the Letters to the N[abo] Vizier and his Minister ? I understood that it

was your Intention to write them ; but Hay has suggested to me that you desired me to do it. I have no Objection, but that you will best express your own Sentiments. Be so good however as to inform me if this is your Wish. ✓

Halhed and Wilkins have addressed a short Letter to the Board which Bruere has. You can read it in 2 Minutes and a Third will suffice for your Answer which may be made a part of yesterdays Consultations. I shall be obliged to you and Mr Stables, if you will call for it. I agree of Course ; for it is my original Recommendation.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

XCI

*Wednesday Morning.*

[Endorsed : ' 11 January 1785 '.]

My dear Sir,

I propose to deliver the Minute which I shewed you about Ten Days ago to the Board in Form tomorrow. As you may chuse to record your Opinion upon it on the same Consultation, and as it is of great Consequence to me to be early apprized of it as a Guide to my final Determination, I take the Liberty to send you the Corrected Copy of the Minute, that you may peruse it at your leisure. I hope that you will find no Expression in it which you may deem exceptionable. Mr Stables objected kindly to the Word, ' wholly ', in the 6th Line from the End ; and I had therefore caused it to be omitted in the fair Draft ; but when I read it again I felt that it was repugnant to the Regard which I wish ever to pay to Truth, and most especially in a Declaration made upon the most solemn and important Act of my Life, and I am affraid that the Omission would discredit all that I have said in that part of my Minute in the Minds of those who will recollect the past Occur-

rences : For who will believe that such Differences of Opinion, not on a speculative and transient Subject, but involving the most serious Consequences, and the most interesting to our personal Feelings, could have been delivered without a temporary Suppression of that Cordiality which could unite our Minds in the same common pursuits? I may be credited in affirming, which is true and strictly true, that my Regard, which like a Fire subjected and concealed by its Ashes, yet retained its vital principle, was capable of recovering both its former Warmth and Light ; but I doubt whether you, my good Friend, would be satisfied if I should say that it continued unchanged ; and I desire that whatever Defects I may have in my Character, I may preserve the Credit of its Consistency and Sincerity ; and I am particularly interested to leave the Conviction of those Qualities impressed on your Judgement of it. This is too much perhaps for so trivial a Subject as the Criticism of a Word. Do not give yourself the trouble to answer this. Keep the Minute till we meet to morrow.

Yours affectionately and truly

WARREN HASTINGS.

The minute to which this letter refers will be found in Forrest, *op. cit.*, iii. 1131. It deals with Hastings' settlement of Oudh affairs, which he urges the Council to maintain in 'that spirit of mutual conciliation which no difference of opinion has yet been able wholly to extinguish'.

XCII

Sat. [January 1785].

My dear Sir,

At the recent Solicitation of Lady Chambers I send you the paper which I informed you She had given to me in Charge about a Week past in

Bruere's office. The Writer's Name is Smith. He is represented to me as an extraordinary Man, who by his great Activity and the Gentleness of his Manners has peopled a large Tract of Country of which his Station is the Centre. And on that Account I lately desired from a Curiosity to see him, before I knew that he had any Thing to ask. This proposal except the Sums of the Jemma tendered, which are either too low, or require to be explained, are such as I would liberally grant on public Grounds, the Character of the Man making him a proper Exception from a general Caution. He solicits no more than a legal Confirmation of what he has been permitted to hold for some years past, though I believe he has had no Countenance or authority from the Board.

Will you permit him to attend you? But do not answer me. Your answer will be exacted by an Influence more powerful than mine, and God forgive me if my Sin is a mortal One in having thus far yielded to it.

I am my dear Sir Yours most affectionately

W. HASTINGS.

For Lady Chambers' beauty and charm, to which the last paragraph alludes, see *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 190.

*Enclosure*

The Rents of Natpou (in the Province of Bahar) when I commenced Farmer in the Year 1187 Fuslee were settled at Patna Son. Rs. 22,000.

Exclusive of that Rent, I have paid in six Years to the Zemindar and Farmer an Annual increase Amounting in the whole to Rupees 40,000.

I wish to have a lease of the above Talook for Ten Years at the fixed Rent of Rupees 30,000 per Annum.

The Rents of Neesunkpore Coora in Tirhoot when I took the Farm in 1189 Fuslee was settled at Rs. 35,000.

Exclusive of that Rent I have paid in four Years to the Zemindar an Annual increase Amounfing in the whole to Rs. 55,000.

I wish to have a lease of this Talook for ten Years at the fixed Rent of Rs. 48,000 per Annum.

If this plan should meet with the approbation of the Governor General and Council and they are pleased to grant me a lease, I will in consideration of the advantages I am likely to reap from the prospect of further improvements, engage to pay, cloath, Arm and di[s]cipline 60 Men including Officers and Sepoys for the defence of the Frontier,—and for their peaceable conduct I will be Answerable,—to be under the Authority of the Chief of either District. But if called into actual service I should hope to receive the pay (without Batta) of a Brevet Officer commanding such a Detachment and the Sepoys their Pay while on such service.

W. B. S.

18th January, 1785.

XCIH

*Saturday Morning.*

[Endorsed : ' 22 January 1785 '.]

My dear Sir,

Excuse me for proposing the accompanying Minute for your Determination upon it. I should have been better pleased to have left the Subject to a distant period, and to another Operation ; but Kyd is determined, and I owe it to him to anticipate the Form of it. He assures me that if you shall be pleased to confer the office on his Nephew, he himself will continue to officiate for him till his Arrival, and with him afterwards, and will be answerable that no Inconvenience shall rise



from his Resignation of it. He declares that he has not Health to execute it as he ought, and wishes to prepare for his Departure from the Service. I am so much obliged to him that I shall esteem your Acquiescence in this Solicitation as the greatest Favor that, you can grant me.

Yours affectionately

W. HASTINGS.

Colonel Robert Kyd was Military Secretary at Calcutta. Both he and his nephew Alexander were officers in the Bengal Engineers. A short biography of the uncle will be found in Buckland, *Dict. of Indian Biography*.

XCIV

[Endorsed : '22 January 1785'.]

My dear Sir,

I send you the rough Drafts of Letters which I have written, and conformably to which if you approve it I wish you also to write Letters from yourself to accompany them, or if you chuse it, I will cause them to be written in corresponding Terms.

It will be of Use that you should write to Almass Ally Cawn ; and I solicit your Consent to my adding to the Foot of your Letter to the Nabob Vizier a reference to Major Palmer for other particulars. It will prevent intrigues in the Nabob's Family where there is a party ready and ripe to excite them.

Yours affectionately

W. H.

The accompanying papers marked A.A. contain Lists of all the Letters which I have written ; but I have not Drafts of all. The purport of all is the same, and the Tendency to impress those to whom they are written with

the Conviction that you and I are engaged in the same cooperative plan of fixing their Connection at Home. If you will trust to the same Hand your own Letters I will be answerable for the faithful Execution of them, and English Copies shall be prepared as fast as they can be,

W. H. ✓

Be so good as to return the Lists A. A.

The letters above-mentioned were those addressed to the various princes of India announcing the impending change in the Governor-Generalship.

XCV

*Calcutta*

27 January 1785.

My dear Sir,

Mr Talamas, the Bearer of this, was recommended to me by Sir Robert Ainslie, and is the person whom the Board at my Recommendation entrusted with some Dispatches to England. In this Service he failed because the Ship failed in her passage, and he has still a Claim upon me in my public Character, both for his Exertions, and for the Expectations given him in his first Introduction. I beg Leave to introduce him to your Notice. He has a plan to propose which may with Improvement prove of Utility. I believe him to be honest and ingenuous. I am

My dear Sir

Your most affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

Ainslie was the English ambassador at the Porte. Talamas appears later as an adviser of the French (cf. Prentout, *L'Isle de France sous Decaen*), and it is possible that as early as this he was serving as an agent for the French.

XCVI

30 January 1785.

My dear Sir

I have received many Letters from Major Palmer written in the Spirit of Despondency and Apprehension for the Consequences of his Continuance after the Expiration of his Influence, and wishing therefore to be recalled. I have urged him to wait. A Line from you will give him the Encouragement which he wants, for his Feelings are not his own, but caught by Contagion from the people about him.

Your most faithful and affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

Endorsed : ' Answered by writing to Major Palmer on the 1st February '85'. Palmer feared that his influence at Lucknow, where he was Resident, would disappear with Macpherson's becoming Governor-General, the latter having been notoriously a supporter of Bristow. Cf. Macpherson to Hastings, 6 August, 1785 (Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29168, f. 422).

XCVII

*Calcutta*

30 January 1785.

My dear Sir,

At the Request of Sir Robert but not of the Person who is the Object of it, I write this to be delivered by Mr George Wilton after my Departure. His Behavior in my Family has ever been modest and becoming. I believe him to be a good young Man, and I recommend him to your Kindness. More I cannot ask for.

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

' Sir Robert ' is Sir Robert Chambers. George Wilton must have been a relation of Lady Chambers, *née* Wilton.

XCVIII

TO MAJOR CONRAN

*Fulta*

2 February 1785.

My dear Major,

I am grieved that I had not, or that I missed the Opportunity of speaking to you before We parted. Indeed I could have expressed no more than the Regret which it gave me to leave you with a Prospect so ill suited to the Claims which your Friendship would have given you on me had I continued in India. Yet I hope that Mr McPherson will be kind to you for my Sake. He knows my Anxiety on your Account, and I shall remind him of it in Writing. Once more farewell, my dear Friend. May God protect you !

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

For Major Conran, who must have handed over this letter to Macpherson as evidence of Hastings' wishes, see *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 226. /

XCIX

*Fulta*

2 February 1785.

My dear Sir,

Permit me to introduce to you the Bearer of this, Hurry Gose, formerly a Servant of Mr Scrafton's, and left by him on my protection. I have tried various Means to serve him, but his Time was not come, and I have been therefore defeated in my good Intentions. I do not desire you to serve him, but only to countenance him, and allow him some Times to speak to you. He has a World of Intelligence, and of this much

that may be useful to a Mind that can discriminate Truth from Report in a gossiping Tale.

Your affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

Endorsed : ' Recommending Hurry Gose, at present Police Dewan '.

C

*On the River*  
4 February 1785.

My dear Friend,

Let me entreat you to be ~~kind to~~ Captain Mordaunt. Allow him to return to Lucnow. I know not what can be done for him immediately, for no private Claim ought to be admitted against the public Demands, nor while these exist. But the N[abo]b Vizier will be able to pay part of his private Debts in the next Year, and Mordaunt has an equal Claim to any ; better than many who have the Sanction of the Board for theirs. I ask but that you will befriend him when you can with propriety.

Your affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

Cf. Letter No. LX. *supra*.

CI

*Berrington*  
6 February 1785.

My dear Sir,

I have desired Mr Thompson to present this Letter to you, if ever he should see any Occasion for it. It is only to recommend the Interest of a very excellent officer, Captain Hagan, to your Countenance and protection. It is absolutely necessary that there should be a separate Corps for Benaris, and that the officer who commands it should be a Man of Temper,



and of Mind free from sordid pursuits. C[aptain] Hagan is a good and most honorable Man. He is besides a good officer, attentive to Discipline, and I will answer for its being complete in its Numbers. I request that he may not be removed, and that you will bestow a favorable attention to any Representation which he may have Occasion to make to you.

I am my dear Sir

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S. There is in the enclosed Letter so much of the genuine Character of the Writer of it, that I take the Liberty to send it to you as the best Recommendation of him.

W. H.

CII

*Berrington*

8 February 1785.

My dear Friend,

I now congratulate you on the possession of your new office, and most sincerely wish that you may long hold it, and enjoy with it what I never knew, Ease and Content. Be careful of your Health. It is now one of your Duties ; and do not sacrifice it to common Civilities. Your Station places you above them, and I fear that the State of your Constitution requires a more than ordinary Attention to it. Excuse this Liberty. My Credit is concerned in the Effect of the Caution which I recommend.

I shall give this Letter to the Charge of Captain Thornhill. He is an excellent Man, and the best I believe that ever filled his office. He complains much of one Inconvenience resulting from the custom of the Service ; which is, the Succession of Pilots by Seniority. He says that many of them will stand the Test of Examina-

tion, who are not fit to be trusted with the Charge of a Ship, for the worst of all Disqualifications, Drunkenness ; and he wishes to be allowed a Discretion to set such Fellows aside. He is as honest and as conscientious a Man as any that I know, and I am sure this is a point to be trusted to Discretion, even though there were a Chance of its being abused ; for of the two Evils the Loss of a Pilot's Right of promotion is certainly less than that of a Ship laden with Sixteen Lacs of Rupees.

Captain Thornhill has no Chart of the new Channel. He should have One. I believe the lower part of it wants a new Survey to be made of it.

Once more Adieu !

Your most affectionate Friend

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S. I must close the List of my recommendations, (it is not a very long One) with the Name of Major Conran. Pray be kind to him.

Captain Thornhill was the newly appointed Master Attendant (or port-officer, as we would say), and as such in charge of the pilots who took ships up and down the intricate and shifting channel of the Hugli.

CIII

*St Helena*

*20 April 1785.*

My dear Sir,

I have the Pleasure to inform you that the Berrington anchored here on the 15th. Our Voyage thus far has been more than commonly prosperous. I shall reembark on this Day at Noon.

Mr Corneille, one of the most polite and obliging Men living, has desired that I will recommend to your

Countenance, and that is all that I can require, a Young Gentleman who will be the Bearer of this. He is the Son of Mr Bassett, one of the Council of this place. Mr Corneille gives him the Character of a very accomplished young Man. He is not in the Service.

I beg you to be assured of my cordial Attachment and good Wishes.

I am my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS.

I send you no News because this Letter cannot arrive so soon as many Ships which will carry to you much later.

CIV

TO JAMES MACPHERSON

*Bath*

*10 January 1786.*

Dear Sir,

I am very much obliged to you for the early Information contained in your Letter, and congratulate you on an Event which I am as much pleased with, as I am sure you are. I would say that I am glad that it happened without a Trial ; but I have not yet sufficiently canvassed my own Feelings upon that Subject, and do not therefore chuse to hazard a Declaration of which I cannot yet ascertain the Truth. I have received my Dispatches, but have not read them.

I am my dear Sir

Your most faithful and  
obedient Servant

WARREN HASTINGS.

CV

*Beaumont Lodge*  
13 August [1787].

My dear Sir,

I heartily congratulate you on your safe Return to this Country, and on the Store of Health which, I have the Pleasure to learn from James Anderson, you have laid up in your Voyage. I regret exceedingly that I am prevented from bidding you welcome in person. I had intended, and principally for that Purpose, to have gone to Town to Day, but a Visit made to me by Mr Anderson has put it out of my power, and to morrow I set off on a Journey to Scotland, which I have long deferred and can defer no longer. I hope you will be permitted with your Retirement to enjoy that State of Repose and Peace to which you are entitled, and which have been denied to me as far as it was in the Power of Man to deny me those Benefits which principally depend for their Existence on my own Mind.

I shall hope to find you in Town on my Return, and beg you to be assured that I am with real regard

Your faithful and obedient Servant

WARREN HASTINGS.

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*N.B.*—The spelling adopted in the index is that followed in the notes where the latter differs from the spelling in the text ; and in general the spelling of Indian names has been modernised.

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